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'Roundtable' Discusses Summit, GDR Emigration

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["International Observers Roundtable" program presented by All-Union Radio commentator Viktor Nikolayevich Levin With Professor Radomir Georgiyevich Bogdanov, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, doctor of Historical Science; and Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, political observer at IZVESTIYA]

[Text] [Levin] Hello, esteemed comrades. I think there is every reason for saying that the big international sensation of the week was the announcement of the forthcoming meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and U.S. President Bush. It truly was a sensation, since nobody was expecting it, nobody was seriously counting on it, and moreover, when questions on the subject were raised at press conferences by U.S. administration spokesmen not long beforehand, they firmly evaded giving answers. The first article in THE WASHINGTON POST about some kind of meeting being nonetheless possible before the scheduled, official, big meeting in late-spring, early-summer of next year was denied; and then came this announcement, with which we shall begin today's discussion.

[Bogdanov] Well I'm actually going to introduce a slightly heretical spirit to our business today: I simply cannot agree with you, Viktor Nikolayevich, that what happened was a sensational event—that's the first thing. Secondly, I simply cannot agree with you that nobody was expecting it. Let's look at the whole thing in a slightly different way, for instance, as follows. Professional America watchers, and Vitaliy Ivanovich is also one of that very august company, have long since observed that within the ruling establishment, as it is generally called in the United States, there is a growing battle, between, for the most part, the two branches of U.S. Government—the Congress, which is in the hands of the Democrats, and the Republican administration.

This is accompanied by another phenomenon: A battle within the administration itself over that major strategic issue—what attitude to take to the Soviet Union's perestroyka and to the Soviet Union in general. There are roughly three groups emerging, and the administration's delay in coming out with initiatives was due, as I am profoundly convinced, precisely to the degree of balance that has evolved between those groups and to the fact that none of them has managed to impose its point of view. This is where something new comes in: The dramatically increased level of activity by the U.S. Congress, or to be more precise, the Democrats, who have consistently begun piling the pressure on the Republican administration by demands—not open demands, of course, but behind the scenes—for a change of stance and a more active foreign policy. Some of this can be discounted, of course, as party politics and so on, but at any rate it's something that has taken place.

The second point is the things that are happening in the world: Events are developing such an intensity and acceleration that it is simply becoming essential for the two leaders of the chief, leading countries to meet—it's in the air. Either those leaders will end up watching the tailend of those events when they have receded far into the distance, or else they must immediately meet in the course of major developments in order, at any rate, to match up their points of view.

Finally, now that we are talking about interdependence and about peace from the standpoint of the new thinking, so to speak, why indeed should such meetings not take place? The time may already have arrived for us to stop calling them summit meetings and sensations—they are business-like contacts, everyday contacts, which are becoming simply an essential component of an interdependent world, an essential component.

There are some very interesting aspects, of course. People are always asking me why they have to meet in the Mediterranean? Surely it could be in some wonderful country like Finland, Switzerland, or Austria? And finally, they ask why they're meeting on boad warships? How do you explain that?

[Kobysh] Yes, interesting, but I only agree with you in part; on some things I disagree, just as I do with Viktor Nikolayevich. So let's just say each of us has his own view.

[Levin] That's excellent, because then we can invite our listeners to study each view and reach their own conclusions.

[Kobysh] Firstly, to the point. When you say that this is nothing special, that working meetings ought to be the norm and that they ought to meet, you're indulging a little in wishful thinking. When the U.S. President meets General Secretary and President Gorbachev it is still a major event. As for the way the whole thing was arranged, this is very interesting. According to the information coming from the White House, the summit was suggested by Bush in July—by Bush. Which is interesting, because it means that he felt the necessity, the need to meet the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, in order to discuss something urgently, to air something and perhaps to solve something as well. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev immediately responded at the beginning of August.

So an accord on the matter was reached several months ago, yet despite the need for a meeting being in the air it was, you will agree, Radomir Georgiyevich, a surprise. While it didn't make us start, we were at least extremely surprised. The accord was reached 3 months ago and not a single word was said about it anywhere; not a single leak, which is something extremely rare for the United States. This means that the two countries' diplomatic machinery is now so well oiled that it can interlink and function very precisely in complete accord, so to speak. A very important point.

[Levin] This is precisely where the sensation lies—the very fact of the announcement. I agree with all your arguments about it being essential, but it is a sensation.

[Kobysh] As regards the warships—it really is exotic, but....

[Bogdanov] Yes, incidentally, what is your explanation for this?

[Kobysh] I think it's very symbolic. The Mediterranean has always been the epicenter of U.S naval activities; now, the Mediterranean is to be the venue of a peaceful meeting aboard warships in the service of peace.

[Bogdanov] If I may put a small provocative question to you, Vitaliy Ivanovich, do you think those ships are carrying nuclear weapons?

[Kobysh] It's perfectly possible. Why shouldn't they be?

[Bogdanov] Well in that case what you're saying becomes particularly meaningful, doesn't it?

[Kobysh] Yes but I can't confirm this; I am merely agreeing that this might be the case, which would make it even more symbolic, though it would be better if those nuclear weapons didn't exist at all. I wonder actually what class of ships they will be, because there might be some kind of, well, sensation, so to speak, from the point of view of the two countries' naval might as well.

[Levin] It is precisely this, I think, that opens up yet another opportunity. One knows that all the numerous proposals, as one might call them, to start talks on cutting naval forces as well, to start talks on extending trust-building and control [kontrol] measures to naval forces, have come up against a blank wall on the part of our Western negotiating partners and above all on the part of the United States. But when the two leaders meet aboard warships this is a subject that is bound to surface. Bush is saying that they do not forsee making any decisions, that they are merely going to discuss all the issues that they consider necessary to discuss, but it seems to me that this issue is one that could also be discussed, and even should be discussed.

[Bogdanov] At any rate, all those at work on naval problems will straight away play out the situation in their mind and, of course, reach certain conclusions. Just by way of information, in case it's of interest to our listeners, the Peace Committee is organizing a very important event for the beginning of next year under the title 'Seminar on Restricting Naval Activities on the Seas and Oceans'. We have invited in effect the entire leadership of the naval fleets of all the world's leading countries, including the U.S. and we've had an extraordinary response—virtually everyone has agreed.

[Kobysh] Active...?

[Bogdanov] Active, Vitaliy Ivanovich....

[Kobysh] Not retired?

[Bogdanov] Not retired, active.

[Levin] That's something only the Peace Committee could pull off.

[Bogdanov] We're bringing together 100 leading naval commanders, including ours. Our leading naval commanders have agreed to take part and to speak. So it seems there's a great deal of interest in the subject.

[Levin] Anyway, that's one possible aspect of the forthcoming conversations. I would like to reiterate that, according to Bush, there will be no agreed agenda, though in fact Comrade Shevardnadze, at a meeting with journalists in the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center, said that there is, of course, an agenda. Each leader has his own agenda, and I think the other side also knows which issues his counterpart wishes to raise.

[Levin] Among the most vital problems, the problems that are the most frequently mentioned both by the press and by Bush, too, and which will be discussed, there is one about the development of events in the world, and in particular, about the development of events in Eastern Europe. What I wonder about is from what positions the United States is regarding in principle the development of events in Eastern Europe.

[Bogdanov] I think that there is already an answer of sorts to this question. I see the answer to this question in the two relatively recent visits by President Bush to Poland and to the Hungarian Republic. The visits were....

[Levin, interrupting] At the time, still the Hungarian people's.... Yes, at that time the Hungarian People's but...

[Bogdanov continues] Now it is the Hungarian Republics. And perhaps we all remember certain caution and a considered attitude, and I would say, certain statesmanship in the visit of the U.S. President to the two very complex countries. In other words, I wish to say—this is my personal point of view—that this time the American administration restrained itself from any sort of actions aimed at destabilizing, at exacerbating and worsening the situation in these countries. I think that this policy can be discerned in the United States' politics today, too.

[Kobysh] I agree with this. As to the U.S. President, he made his visits in a proper form, from the viewpoint of diplomacy. This was received very positively both in these countries, and there is no point in hiding it, in our country too, and in fact in the whole world. But what puts me on my guard somewhat, in connection with what you, Viktor Nikolayevich, have mentioned about the problems of East European countries, is the fact that already not only the western mass information media, but also, above all, U.S. politicians are raising the question of these countries withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact as a logical nature continuation, as it were, of the progress of events. The TIME magazine is ever referring to a prominent staff member of the administration who says that the question arises as to what the Warsaw Pact will then be generally engaged in, after such a substantial cohort of states pulls out.

[Bogdanov] But after all no one has yet pulled out.

[Levin] No one has pulled out—this is for one thing.

[Bogdanov] (?and no one, moreover, is talking of leaving?) At any rate no one is intending to do it today.

[Kobysh] In addition, still another question emerges. Even if they intended to—what will then NATO, the North Atlantic Bloc, be engaged in? They are considering only the question of the Warsaw Pact, whereas NATO stands somewhere aside. Nobody breathes a word about withdrawal from NATO, still less about disbanding it, something that we are proposing as regards both NATO and Warsaw Pact.

[Levin] Or at least to begin with; imparting to these organizations more political than military meaning.

[Bogdanov] The Warsaw Pact is a very big question. I think that one should nevertheless expect an official stand precisely from the U.S. Administration rather than from certain anonymous persons whose names are flashing today from pages of TIME, NEWSWEEK, various newspapers, etc. They can say anything they like, even more so considering that they do it anonymously. But what will the U.S. Administration say? For what you have now said, Vitaliy Ivanovich, is probably the question in the minds of the politicians who make U.S. policy.

Alright, we will be pulling the Warsaw Pact to pieces, squeezing out of it certain countries, if we manage. But what about NATO? After all this process is a two-edged sword. But this is another matter. We probably need to say with all certainty that neither the Warsaw Pact nor NATO is our ideal. Our ideal is the absence of the two military blocs. The process that is now underway is a process of politicization. Incidentally, it equally applies to NATO. The military blocs are gradually being transformed into political alliances. For example, should the military organizations of the Warsaw Pact and NATO be disbanded? Then only political bodies would remain, political bodies which represent groups of allied countries, which are members of these blocs. Isn't there reason in this?

[Kobysh] But this does, in effect, mean disbanding NATO and the Warsaw Pact. So Comrade Gorbachev and President Bush will have something to talk about aboard one warship and then the other.

[Bogdanov] Before we finish with this subject, let me say this: I feel that it is precisely this question that you want to raise. Esteemed colleagues, have you noticed that literally in the last 10-15 days another fresh subject—that of the German question—can be seen in the pages of the world press, in fact from very serious observers and journalists? The German question....

[Levin interrupting] Radimir Georgiyevich, you have taken the words right out of my mouth.

[Kobysh] You know, in the way the world press raises the German question there is, all the same, a very large element of speculation. What is all this based on? What did conversations about this begin from? The conversations began with the situation that has formed in the GDR, that is, the en masse emigration of GDR citizens. This emigration has exposed a whole number of internal problems, above all political ones and also material and economic factors, which are, however, in my view, of secondary importance. Primarily it is an essentially political issue. Already talk has started as to what will be if this or that happens.

To imagine better how this talk has developed, I would like to tell our listeners briefly about what is now happening in the GDR. Various figures are being quoted; it is said that 60-100,000 recently left the GDR. Sometimes this assumes very dramatic forms. BERLINER ZEITUNG published a report that in the last 6 weeks 1,100 doctors and nurses have left the GDR capital, something which immediately created a fairly complex situation in the whole health care and social insurance system.

But it seems to me that at present, our friends in the GDR themselves are trying to clarify the reasons why it happened. The answer that is emerging is as follows: Only 1 month ago, in Berlin, for instance, I heard the word stagnation used in Russian by our German friends, in the same way that perestroyka and glasnost have become part of the international vocabulary, the word zastoy [stagnation] has also entered the language in some countries. We now quite frequently use the word, but we're a little forgetful about what it means. It seems to me that the meaning of it, of this concept of zastoy, is that leaders are geared not to reality, but to desirability, they isolate themselves from life. One of the consequences is falsehood in the news media. During the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the GDR, this was also unfortunately manifest. It was as if the events rocking the republic were not taking place, as if this mass exodus were not occurring. In certain press organs, and not just there, the refrain resounded: Let the drums of triumph thunder! [Reference to Gavriil Derzhavin's "Chorus for a quadrille". The phrase is used ironically for one intoxicated with success] The GDR has accumulated achievements, they are beyond dispute, but also beyond dispute are the difficulties and problems that started not today and not yesterday. With stagnation, as we know, all problems are swept under the carpet, they are not tackled, there is a pretence that they do not exist. As a result, the disease takes a firmer hold and the treatment, as we know from our own experience, becomes more difficult. This situation has made itself felt in the GDR. Now the situation is changing. The position is changing. I think that October 11th can be termed a very important milestone in the development of events—it was the day the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee adopted a statement on the need for public dialogue. The people who went on mass demonstrations and had been described as hooligan-type elements were recognized as equal partners in dialogue.

[Bogdanov] Viktor Nikolayevich, some 100,000 or 200,000 people went on the demonstrations.

[Levin] Yes, and in Berlin, even during the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the republic, something on the order of 3,000 [number as heard] people, according to some sources, gathered next to the palace of the Republic, and in Leipzig these demonstrations involved more than 100,000. Here is another very interesting point. There are no issues for these demonstrations now. The leaders of the local bodies of power—party and state ones—are conducting a dialogue with these people, and it turns out that there are no fundamental differences on whether they are for or against socialism. No one, not a single force in the GDR, is coming out against socialism. But they are coming out for democratization and for human rights. Now the question of granting GDR citizens the right to travel anywhere at any time is already beginning to be tackled. Steps are already being taken to enable every GDR citizen to have a foreign passport—I use our own terminology—on which he can travel where he pleases. Discussion has started of a draft law on the press. Economic reforms are needed. They are also under discussion. We are in a slightly awkward position. In 3 days, the latest plenum of the SED Central Committee is to be held. By the way, a report on the calling of the plenum was published in advance for the first time with an exact indication of the date—from the 8th to the 10th—3 days. It will be an exceptional plenum. Against the background of these events people in the west have started saying: What will happen now? Won't there be a reunfication of Germany? In the present instance, I don't quite agree with and, to be honest, I don't even understand the arguments used by the leaders of the GDR. They are saying that reunification is not on the agenda. I cannot agree with such a formulation. The question of reunification and the unity of the German nation is a live issue among Germans. The question exists. It is another matter that today, when the FRG is a member of NATO and—I would say that this is even more important—is a member of the European Economic Community, and the GDR is in the Warsaw Pact and the CEMA, it is not a pressing issue, but the issue exists. How it is going to be tackled.... [Levin changes thought] Moreover one must not forget that the situation that has today come about in Europe is a factor for stability. Come to that, today both the Warsaw Pact and NATO are also factors for stability.

Any destruction of elements of those factors is fraught with unpredictable consequences. Here, one mustn't rush, but it is necessary to think about the future. By the way, when a press conference was held in Moscow after the meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the press conference of Egon Krenz—he recalled the words of one French author who said: "I love Germany so much that I feel sorry they are only two."

[Kobysh] In connection with this, I want to answer your question about how his problem will be solved. It will be solved with great difficulties and over a very long period of time. In any case, it won't be solved in this century. Though in Washington they mostly keep quiet on this topic, those in London, Paris, and Bonn as well, speak considerably more frankly.

[Bogdanov] The trouble is they'll have none of it.

[Kobysh]Not everyone wants it and some are prepared to lay down their lives in order that this unification will never take place.

[Bogdanov] Vitaliy Ivanovich, aren't you trying to reassure us that it won't happen in this century, because how much [of this century] is left before it ends?

[Kobysh] Well, it is so. What is going to happen in the next century, we don't know anything altogether—I think, this will be precisely one of the topics discussed in the Mediterranean Sea, because the leaders of U.S. policy, and we as well, picture very vaguely what the 21st century is all about I have just come back from a trip around the countries of the APR.

[Bogdanov] Of the Asian-Pacific Region.

[Kobysh] Of the Asian-Pacific Region. I've been to Japan, China and Korea—South Korea and North Korea, etc. I sensed that we have forgotten that the biggest part of our territory is Asia. We have somehow slightly forgotten about all those proposals that were initiated by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his speech in Vladivostok of 28 July, 1986 and in his speech in Krasnoyarsk of 16 September, 1988. In Japan and the countries of that region they remember those proposals very well, and they are still discussing them.

Obviously, an understanding of the importance of what is going to be there—and they say that the 21st century will be the century of Asia—Obviously, we have that understanding as well. It was not for nothing that the Commission of the Central Committee for International Issues headed by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev had a meeting; and it was the problems of the APR that were at the center of the discussion held there.

To a considerable extent the economic might of the world is being transferred into that region. It is developing swiftly. They used to say many years ago, Radomir Georgiyevich knows, in America this phrase has been current for 15 years, that Japan has won the Third World War without firing a shot. It also wants to win the 21st century. I feel it now, they are bursting with their might. They have bought the Rockfeller Center now. This is not just a personification of America, this is a personification of capitalism.

[Bogdanov] And of U.S. power.

[Kobysh] And of power. They haven't just bought it for no particular reason, they have humiliated the United States.

[Bogdanov] Of course.

[Kobysh] They haven't bought for no particular reason one of the largest Holywood companies, which is also the soul of the United States. They humiliated the United States yet again. Now they are constantly squeezing the United States with their money, with their economic might. An interesting thing is that South Korea has started to squeeze Japan a little because it has taken on all the most up-to-date technology of Japan and the United States, but the intensification of labor is higher there, and the pay is lower. To compete with them is practically impossible; that is, the most complex and the most interesting processes are taking place. All those will be discussed at the Mediterranean Sea of course.

[Levin] Life is full of the most complex problems. Of course, in today's program we can name only a few of them, exchange our opinions a bit, and all the people together will have to decide.

[Bogdanov] To look ahead

[Levin] The most important thing is to look ahead

[Kobysh] The most important thing!

[Levin] The statesmen should foresee the development of events, and in this perspective, of course, the forthcoming meeting of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush—it exactly appears to me as the striving of the two leaders to do what's known as checking their watches and looking to tomorrow. In the longer term such meetings of course, will become an everyday occurrence, and then I won't speak about the fact that the announcement about the meeting has become the main event of this week, a sensational one. But for now, I will stick to my opinion that this is a sensation in the most positive meaning of the word, in a news sense.

[Bogdanov] I am a man of compromise, and I will agree with you that that is a sensation.

[Levin] And now, thank you, dear listeners, for your attention. All the best.

East-West Conference on Security in 1990's

90UI0101A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 28 Oct 89 p 3

[Article by Petr Parkhitko: "In a Constructive Spirit"]

[Text] The international conference "Search for Ways to Safeguard Security in the 1990's—Common East-West Responsibility" has come to an end in Frankfurt am Main (FRG). It was organized by the New York International Institute for the Study of Security in East-West Relations and the FRG Foreign Ministry. The participants—more than 200 government representatives, scientists, experts and large firm and bank executives of more than 20 European, American and Asian countries—paid particular attention to stability and disarmament in Europe and also to problems of East-West economic cooperation.

The vast majority of those who spoke at the conference noted that the profound transformations being effected in the USSR and other socialist countries were having a positive impact on the world situation. A central plank of the debate on global problems of East-West economic cooperation was the paper "Perestroyka and the World Economy" prepared by U.S. representatives. The paper contains, inter alia, proposals pertaining to a convergence of the parties' positions.

However, the paper does not fully reflect the complexity of present-day world economic relations and contains also one-sided, advantageous and even hegemonistic approaches. The admittance of the USSR to the GATT and other international organizations, for example, is hedged around with a number of prior conditions, and demands are made on other countries also. This position could not have failed to have been countered on the party of many conferees. As a result an understanding was reached there to the effect that Soviet experts would prepare their own draft on the contentious issues, which will be examined at the next meeting on the Greek island of Rhodes next April.

Nonetheless, the conference, which has come to an end, had an important positive outcome: It showed its participants' interest in the creation of an atmosphere of stability and cooperation in Europe. The representatives of various states emphasized the common responsibility for the solution of global problems of the present day. A realistic approach, mutual consideration of interests, respect for the observance of sovereignty—these are the principles which will make it possible to make maximum use of the opportunities for East-West cooperation which are opening up.

Romania Eschews CSCE Agreement

PM0811104789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Kapralov dispatch: "One Vote Against the Majority"]

[Text] Sofia—The first-ever meeting on the environment held by the CSCE countries has ended in Sofia.

The agenda and procedural questions defined by the Vienna accords included eight points. But the crux of the discussion was probably point four, where the participants were presented with three main subjects: The prevention and limitation of the consequences of industrial accidents; the handling of potentially dangerous chemicals; and pollution of waterways and international lakes.

The Sofia conference, this correspondent was told by Ye.V. Minayev, deputy chairman of the USSR State

Committee for Protection of the Environment, was held in a constructive and friendly atmosphere. Agreed solutions were found to all the questions on the agenda and a number of directions were determined for work within the framework of the Economic Commission for Europe, envisaging the deepening of cooperation, exchanges of information, and the creation of an agreed system for assessing and approaching the determination of the level of accidents and the likelihood of their affecting neighboring states.

In his closing speech the Canadian representative stated that states' policies in the environmental protection sphere should be formulated under the influence and taking account of public activity—a point, incidentally, with which, however regrettably, the Romanian delegation disagreed.

Despite the fact that 34 forum participants were prepared to sign the final document, the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO wrote in its final report that despite high-level contacts the Romanian delegation had refused to sign the draft document since it disagreed with two points which stated: "Participating states reaffirm their respect for the the right of individuals, groups, and organizations dealing with environmental problems to freely express their opinions, set up associations with others, hold peaceful gatherings, and obtain, publish, and distribute information on these problems without any legal or administrative obstacles incompatible with the CSCE provisions. Such individuals, groups, and organizations are entitled to participate in public discussions of environmental problems and to establish and maintain direct and independent contacts at national and international level."

In their closing speeches all the heads of delegations expressed regret, to put it mildly, that 1 vote had overcome 34, and asked to be considered co-authors of the document compiled by four neutral countries—Austria, Finland, Switzerland, and Sweden.

One would like to believe that the CSCE participants will come to the next meeting in Helsinki in 1992 with already concluded conventions, regional agreements, and other documents designed to help protect nature and mankind from a slow death.

Kashlev Addresses European Human Rights Forum

PM0811115989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Kostanyan dispatch: "Discussion on Human Rights"]

[Text] Lisbon—The Sintra estate near Lisbon—the former summer residence of the kings of Portugal—was chosen by European liberal organizations for a discussion meeting on human rights. Three days of discussions organized by the Liberal International's Human Rights Commission and the West German Friedrich Naumann Foundation were held in this well-kept 16th-century building.

The subject was formulated in the following way: "East Meets West on Human Rights Issues in the Renewed Atmosphere of International Cooperation." Those present were mainly representatives of liberal parties from not only Europe but the United States, Africa, and Asia, scientists, diplomats, certain heads of delegation at the Vienna meeting, and members of a number of international organizations. It is worth noting that the organizers also invited specialists from East Europe.

The report delivered by the Soviet representative—special envoy Yu. Kashlev—aroused general interest. He talked about the main measures aimed at fundamentally improving the legal system in the USSR, concentrating on four draft laws—on entry to and exit from the country, on the press, on religious organizations, and on social associations.

There is currently no dramatic difference in the concept of human rights in the West and in the East, Ambassador A. Erdes, head of the Hungarian delegation at the Vienna meeting, told me. This fact was reflected in the dialogue held by the participants in the current conference, which was productive and instructive for both sides. The need to bring positions closer together in resolving legal issues was mentioned at a press conference by J.D. Blauw (the Netherlands), chairman of the Liberal International's Human Rights Committee.

It was decided to hold similar meetings once a year. Sintra will perhaps be the permanent venue for these meetings.

United States & Canada

Bush Holds 7 Nov White House News Conference

LD0811101189 Moscow TASS in English 0951 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Washington November 8 TASS—The developments of the past few months "give me great hope for the future," U.S. President George Bush said at a White House press conference on Tuesday.

The press conference marked the first anniversary of Bush's victory of last year's presidential election.

Commenting on some results of his administration's efforts since it took office, the President said that "we've seen the most dramatic moves toward democracy in at least 40 years" around the world.

He said the U.S. Government supported these moves with a substantial aid package to Poland, trade benefits for Hungary, and bipartisan agreement with Congress on Central America, and concrete arms control proposals.

Bush said "we've set the timeframe for a summit with the Soviets, and we're on the verge of an informal meeting with President Gorbachev."

One of the first questions Bush was asked was about the reasons for the administration's slow reaction to the dynamic changes in the world.

Rejecting claims that the Administration has been too slow and too cautious, the President said the United States is working closely with its allies, "trying to facilitate the change."

"I will have a wonderful opportunity to discuss the change with Mr. Gorbachev," he said.

The President described a recent trip by former President Richard Nixon to China as "very constructive." Bush said Nixon visited China as an unofficial person and that he carried no messages from him.

However, Bush added, "I think I have a better feeling of where Chinese leaders stand."

On U.S. economic development, the President said that "though the economy is sound, we must make real progress on deficit reduction."

He criticised Democrats in Congress for their refusal to support a number of the administration's initiatives, and called on legislators for cooperation in solving serious problems facing the country.

Bush Consults Aides Ahead of Shipboard Summit

PM0811105989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "The President Consults"]

[Text] Washington 7 Nov—U.S. President G. Bush has held a meeting at his out-of-town residence, Camp David (Maryland), with senior staff of the State Department, the National Security Council, and the CIA. It was wholly devoted to preparations for the unofficial meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, planned for 2-3 December.

White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater announced that it was the first of a planned series of consultations and it involved a discussion of matters connected with the upcoming meeting between the two countries' leaders. He added that G. Bush would also have a series of briefings and consultations with nongovernment experts on the Soviet Union to "fully acquaint himself with Soviet actions and history."

President Bush, the press secretary continued, will be "exceedingly well prepared" for the consultations with M.S. Gorbachev, as is "demonstrated by his first meeting" with his advisers and experts. "We know what we want from the meeting," he stressed. "We know what we want to say. We want them to be good conversations, during which both sides' policies will be explained."

Touching on the upcoming discussions at the summit meeting, Fitzwater stressed that Bush does not intend to put forward any "new initiatives on problems of East-West relations."

Gerasimov on Global Welcome for December Meeting

LD0811095889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0858 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 8 Nov (TASS)—"The news of a meeting between the leaders of two great powers—Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush—off the coast of Malta has been welcomed by everyone who has managed to make a statement immediately, from Great Britain to Japan and all points in between, including the United Nations," writes political observer Gennadiy Gerasimov in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI.

The absence of an agenda for the upcoming visit gives observers scope for conjecture, notes the author. For instance, they are writing about U.S. aid for Soviet perestroyka. However, George Bush himself recalls that such aid has not been requested. This does not rule out problems of cooperation in the mutual interest being discussed. One such interest has been stressed by the President more than once, recalls Gennadiy Gerasimov, especially at a press conference on 31 October: "We wish perestroyka success." There is an undoubted coincidence of interests here, the political commentator points out.

"It is difficult to predict the specific results of the meeting among the Mediterranean waves," considers Gennadiy Gerasimov. "However, it is possible that it will be there that a symbolic funeral will be held for the "cold war," which should finally be sunk to the bottom of the sea," he concludes.

Diplomat Comments on New Stage in U.S. Ties

LD0411235489 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 4 TASS—Soviet-U.S. relations have entered a new stage of positive development, a Soviet diplomat said in a TASS interview.

Alexey Obukhov, head of the United States and Canada Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told TASS diplomatic correspondents Vadim Biryukov and Boris Zverev that "the positive changes that have been accumulating in these relations are beginning to acquire a new quality, namely, the strengthening of confidence between the sides."

The diplomat supposed that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President George Bush, who will meet in December on Soviet and U.S. warships near Malta, will have a wide, "philosophical discussion of the most topical international problems," as well as matters of bilateral relations, especially commercial and economic cooperation between them.

"The West is showing interest not only in the developments in the Soviet Union, but also in the reforms in other East European countries," he said.

"It is difficult to speak of a concrete agenda of the Malta summit yet, but I can suppose that it will include the changes in socialist countries as part of the general world processes."

Although the Soviet and U.S. leaders plan no agreements on some concrete issues at their December meeting, their talks in the Mediterranean will be "an important stage in preparations for official full-scale summit talks," which will be held in the United States in late spring or early summer, the diplomat said.

Conclusion of New York Chemical Weapons Talks

LD0711172289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] New York, 7 Nov (TASS)—The Soviet-U.S. consultations on banning chemical weapons which have been taking place in New York have ended. Particular attention was paid to the examination of questions connected with the practical implementation of the memorandum of understanding with regard to a bilateral experiment on verification [kontrol] and exchange of data in connection with the banning of chemical weapons signed by E.A. Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs, and by J. Baker, U.S. secretary of state, in Wyoming on 23 September, this year.

By mutual accord, the consultations will resume on 28 November in Geneva.

Senate, House Clash Over Defense Funding, Programs

PM0711155989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Sukhoy dispatch: "Disagreements in the Capitol"]

[Text] New York, Nov—Capitol Hill has again become the arena of a struggle among different opinions as to the future of U.S. strategic military programs. This time it is not a conflict between Republicans and Democrats. The Senate is at odds with the House of Representatives.

The symptoms of disagreements became apparent back in late summer and early fall, when the two chambers of the U.S. Congress drew up their own versions of the military budget for fiscal 1990 (it began 1 October this year). The dispute has now reached its apogee and is threatening to halt the appropriation of funds for military expenditure.

What are the reasons? The main clashes are associated with the "star wars" program, the MX and Midgetman missiles, and the B-2 Stealth bombers. In the opinion of the Senate Armed Services Committee headed by Democrat Sam Nunn, the present U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney is doing a good deal to moderate his department's appetite, and so the military budget should be supported in the form in which the Pentagon submitted it to Congress.

Roughly the same views are now held also by Les Aspin, Democrat from Wisconsin and head of the analogous House committee. But the members of his committee think differently. The committee voted by a majority to reduce appropriations for the creation of new kinds of strategic arms. Moreover, the congressmen are campaigning for the reinstatement of certain nonnuclear military programs canceled earlier by the Pentagon leadership.

The demarcation lines take the following directions. First, "Star Wars." The White House requested $4.9 billion for fiscal 1990. The Senate voted for $4.5 billion. The House of Representatives cut the sum to $3.1 billion. The senators declare through Republican T. Stevens that $4.5 billion is a "guideline for further negotiations." But the congressmen believe that it is possible, at a pinch, to talk about a figure of $3.5 billion. "The senators want to achieve their goal without offering anything in exchange," C. Bennett, member of the House of Representatives from Florida, believes.

Then there is the question of strategic missiles. The Senate advocates starting production of a new version of the MX ICBM, which will be installed on mobile railroad flatcars. The senators are also campaigning for the deployment of the new mobile Midgetman missile, which it will be possible to transport on relatively small tow trucks.

As regards the MX, the House of Representatives believes that it is necessary to allocate money only for research and development, while it is proposed to generally delay over the Midgetman program.

The B-2 Stealth bomber. The Senate has allocated $2.35 billion to purchase 3 bombers. The House of Representatives believes that, to begin with, just two "invisible" aircraft at a total cost of $1.88 billion will be quite enough.

The Senate committee has been put in an impasse by the demand of the House of Representatives to return to the idea of purchasing the F-14 fighter and the V-22 vertical-takeoff aircraft from the Grumman Company. The Pentagon chief decided to abandon these conventional armaments at the beginning of the year, and the Senate supports him in this. No one knows what will happen next.

U.S.'Conflict' Experts Visit Soviet Union

PM0711161489 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 89 p 3

[A. Bushuyev report: "Let Us Live in Harmony"]

[Text] How do we behave in a conflict situation? You will agree that the majority of us prefer the "militant" way of resolving it. The very idea of compromise can sometimes be a slap in the face for our sense of our own dignity: The adversary should give way.

It is not difficult to foresee the subsequent course of events. And it is not too bad if it ends with no more than a broken plate. But what if the parties to the conflict are political leaders? The Caribbean crisis, the war in Afghanistan, the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—their consequences are not confined to broken crockery or even a broken life. We are talking about human lives, and more, the existence of all mankind.

Conflictology—a science dealing with man's behavior in crisis situations and teaching him to emerge from them with the smallest possible losses—is virtually unknown in our country. There was, it is true, an attempt at computer prediction of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. But it is premature to speak of such ways of resolving national differences. Premature, because we did not begin paying attention to this science until too late.

In the West, research of this kind has been taking place for a long time.

The other day representatives of the U.S. nongovernmental organization "Search for Common Ground," which specializes in the settlement of internal and international conflicts, arrived in our country. The group was headed by former U.S. Ambassador D. Macdonald and the organization's executive director J. Marks. The Americans made no secret of the fact that their intention is not only to share their own experience, but also to study more closely the processes taking place in the sphere of interethnic, labor, and social relations in the USSR.

It is not, of course, a question of adopting a method for every situation in life. It is necessary closely to link theoretical formulations to the specific situation in the country.

The American specialists are prepared to share their experience of predicting the settlement of conflicts, and offer to cooperate in this sphere. It is a question of evaluation of legal aspects of conflicts; psychological training of persons involved in the process of negotiations and disputes; participation in the study of the situation in the Soviet Union, and the formulation of practical recommendations for Soviet political and social organizations. The link with the "Search for Common Ground" was established through the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace.

Electoral Commission Members Continue U.S. Visit

Systems' Differences Noted

PM0811091989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS correspondent A. Fedyashin dispatch: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Washington, 5 Nov—The visit to the United States by a delegation from the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies headed by its chairman V.P. Orlov continues. The delegation members met Friday in the White House with aides and advisers to U.S. President George Bush on legislative issues and questions of the relationship with local organs of power and state administrative organs, and with communications and public relations experts.

On Friday the first working meetings were held at the Federal Election Commission headquarters between leaders and experts from that body and members of the Central Electoral Commission delegation. The Soviet representatives were familiarized in detail with the most varied aspects of the complex U.S. electoral system.

"It is quite obvious that there are substantive differences between our systems, just as there are differences between the functions of our commission and the Soviets' commission," this TASS correspondent was told by Lee Ann Elliott, vice chairman of the Federal Election Commission. "For instance, I would mention the system for financing the election campaign, many aspects of which have not yet been worked out or are simply lacking in your country."

Nonetheless, she stressed that, although the U.S. electoral system is far "older" than the Soviet system and therefore better organized, it would be a delusion to think that the United States cannot derive useful experience from the electoral system in the USSR. "I particularly want to emphasize," Lee Ann Elliott continued, "that this is my personal opinion, not the opinion of the federal commission. But your practice of what we call 'negative voting' seems to me to be exceptionally successful. That is, your voters are entitled to cross out what they consider to be an unworthy candidate. We have no such system. Americans, if they dislike a candidate or candidates, simply don't go to vote. If they were able to cross out 'unsuitable' candidates, election results would probably be different."

Visit to Annapolis, Naval Academy

LD0611031189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2111 GMT 5 Nov 89

[Text] Washington, 6 Nov (TASS)—Correspondent Andrey Fedyashin reports: A delegation from the USSR Central Electoral Commission, led by its chairman, V.P. Orlov, which has been in the United States on a 10-day visit at the invitation of the U.S. Federal Election Commission, is continuing its trip around the country and its acquaintance with various aspects of the U.S. electoral system.

On Sunday, the Soviet representatives visited the city of Annapolis, capital of the state of Maryland, located an hour's drive away from Washington. In the building of the state's legislative assembly, there was a meeting with Louis Goldstein, chairman of the state's Election Commission, and Mike Miller, chairman of the State Senate of the legislative assembly. Workers in the government bodies of the state of Maryland and state legislators acquainted their Soviet colleagues with various aspects of the state's electoral system, with the laws regulating this system, with specific features of the electoral process in the state, with the relationship between federal and local laws, and with the mechanism for nominating candidates.

Annapolis, situated on the Atlantic coast of the United States, on the shores of Chesapeake Bay, is well known in the United States as the site of the country's Naval Academy. The Soviet delegation visited the Academy's territory, was acquainted in general terms with the organization of the academic process, and visited academic offices and installations. There was a meeting with the leadership of the Naval Academy.

The Soviet representatives also had business meetings with workers from the various federal and private organizations in the country which are involved in observing the election process, and with workers from television companies who specialize in analyzing and interpreting election campaigns in the United States.

On Sunday evening, the Soviet representatives returned to Washington. For Monday, meetings are planned with members of the U.S. Congress and with the leaders of various Senate and House of Representatives committees that are responsible for matters of electoral legislation. The Soviet delegation also will have meetings with members of the influential foreign affairs bodies of both houses of Congress. On Monday, the USSR Central Electoral Commission members leave for Richmond (state of Virginia) to observe the voting process and the vote count during the state gubernatorial elections, which are set for 7 November.

Meeting With Quayle, Legislators

PM0811111189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS correspondent V. Matyash and TASS special correspondent A. Fedyashin reports under the general heading "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Washington, 7 Nov—The delegation from the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies headed by its chairman V.P. Orlov, which is visiting the United States, was received Monday by U.S. Vice President D. Quayle. Under the Constitution he is head of the Senate. During the talks questions concerning various aspects of the U.S. electoral system and the procedure for election to the new USSR Supreme Soviet and union republic supreme soviets were discussed. The meeting was attended by Yu.V. Dubinin, Soviet ambassador to the United States.

As V.P. Orlov noted in conversation with this TASS correspondent, the Soviet representatives were very interested in the mechanism for counting the votes at U.S. elections. Our delegation, he said, is also familiarizing itself with the procedure for nominating candidates, financing election campaigns, and registering voters, and with the systems for counting the results of ballots. On our return to Moscow we will draw up a report on the U.S. electoral system which could be useful for Soviet central, republic, and local electoral commissions.

Richmond, Virginia, 7 Nov—The USSR Central Electoral Commission delegation has arrived here. The Soviet representatives were given an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the organization of the voting process in the United States: The Virginia gubernatorial elections are being held today.

Before leaving Washington the Soviet delegation met on Capitol Hill with the leaders and members of Congressional committees and subcommittees which deal with questions of electoral law and the monitoring of observance of the law on elections. There were long discussions and exchanges of information on the structure of the political process in the United States and the USSR.

"I believe that our exchanges will make it possible to enrich our ideas of each other and to strengthen mutual understanding between our two countries' parliaments and peoples," Senator Wendell Ford, chairman of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, stated after the meeting. He familiarized his Soviet colleagues with the rules for nominating candidates for the top U.S. legislative organs, including the Senate and the House of Representatives, and for state legislatures.

"All the meetings and exchanges were exceptionally useful and important for both sides. We have been discussing the crux of issues and problems associated with electoral systems and all their aspects," John Surina, one of the leaders of the Federal Election Commission, said in an interview with this TASS correspondent.

Further on Meeting With Legislators

LD0711114589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0245 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Washington, 24 Nov (TASS)—The visit to the United States of the delegation of the Central Electoral Commission on elections of USSR people's deputies, headed by its chairman, V. Orlov, is continuing.

On Monday, the Soviet delegation was received by U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle who is, at the same time, leader of the U.S. Senate. In the course of the conversation the sides discussed various aspects of the U.S. electoral system and the procedure for elections to the new USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of union republics. The meeting was attended by Yu. Dubinin, USSR ambassador to the United States.

Then the Soviet representatives met Wendell Ford, chairman of the Senate Committee for Rules and Administration and a Democratic senator (from the state of Kentucky). He briefed the Soviet colleagues on the rules of nominating a candidate to the top legislative bodies of the United States, including the Senate and the House of Representatives, and to the state legislative assemblies.

V. Orlov, leader of the Soviet delegation told Vladimir Matyash, a TASS correspondent, that the Soviet representatives were very interested in the mechanism of calculating votes in U.S. elections. Our delegation, he noted, is also being acquainted with the procedure for nominating candidates, with the financing of the election campaign, registration of the electorate and the mechanisms for calculating the results of the vote. On our return to Moscow we will prepare a report on the U.S. electoral system, which may prove useful for Soviet central, republican, and local election commissions.

The Soviet delegation is returning the visit by the members of the U.S. Federal Election Commission which in June this year visited the USSR and stayed in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev and which prepared a report on the elections of USSR people's deputies in March this year. Members of the federal election commission are accompanying the Soviet delegation on its 10-day trip around the United States.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Wraps Up Talks, Visit

Delegation's Visit to New York

LD0411074389 Moscow TASS in English 0714 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] New York November 4 TASS—A Soviet parliamentary delegation led by Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of the Union, visiting the United States at the invitation of the U.S. Congress leaders, had their first working meeting in New York on Friday.

The central event of the day was a speech made by the leader of the Soviet delegation in the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations. The meeting was attended by representatives of the U.S. Administration, prominent American political and public figures, authoritative political scientists, and staff members of various research organisations.

Primakov spoke of the course of realisation of perestroyka in the Soviet Union and difficulties being encountered along the way, the activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and inter-relationship between the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policies which manifested itself in the process of the exercise of the principles of new political thinking.

After the speech Primakov answered numerous questions.

Later in the day, in accordance with the programme of the visit, a group of USSR people's deputies visited the United Nations Headquarters and the New York Stock Exchange.

Attendence at Pittsburgh Conference

LD0711130489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Excerpt] The fifth conference of representatives of the Soviet and American public has ended in the U.S. city of Pittsburgh. Sergey Leskoy, our correspondent in the United States, reports:

[Leskoy] U.S.-Soviet relations on the eve of the 1990—this was the theme of the final discussion between the hosts of the conference and its Soviet participants. Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said that during the coming decade relations between the Soviet Union and the United States will continue to play an important role in the formation of the international climate. He stressed that, as a result of joint cooperation, both sides are able to achieve significant progress in the area of disarmament, the prevention of an ecological catastrophe, the elimination of poverty and backwardness in the Third World, and in the campaign against disease. As factors which could be a retarding influence in Soviet-U.S. relations, Yevgeniy Maksimovich Primakov mentioned attempts to assess situations which are difficult for one side as necessarily advantageous for the other, and the contrary; plans to make up for reductions in armaments by adopting and developing new programs for the modernization of weapons; and the willingness of the U.S. Administration to hold talks on the reduction of naval forces and armaments. [passage omitted]hold for pravda......

Primakov on U.S.-Soviet Relations

LD0311232889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1920 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 3 November—TASS special correspondents Igor Borisenko, Igor Makurin, and Yuriy Ustimenko report:

Ye. M. Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, who is heading a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet which is in the United States at the invitation of the leadership of the U.S. Congress, today addressed participants in the Fifth Conference of the Soviet and American public which is taking place here. Addressing participants in the meeting, which was organized by the Chautauqua Institute, the leader of the delegation of Soviet parliamentarians dwelt upon issues concerning the development of relations between the USSR and the United States in the coming decade.

A few days ago, it was announced that an informal meeting will be held at the beginning of December between M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President G. Bush, Ye. M. Primakov noted. News of this was event number one in the United States and has been the focus of attention of the whole world. Such interest in this news is quite natural. Soviet-American relations have long since gone beyond the framework of bilateral contacts. They have a determining influence on the development of the entire international situation as a whole. This is the way it has been in the postwar period and this is the way it will most probably be in the 1990's.

What grounds exist for such a conclusion, the leader of the delegation of Soviet parliamentarians went on to ask.

First, the predominant proportion of all means of mass destruction are amassed in the hands of the USSR and the United States—according to existing estimates, over 90 percent of the world arsenal of nuclear missiles.

Second, the development of the international situation, particularly since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, has shown that success in the political settlement of very dangerous international regional conflicts depends to a great extent on a normalization of relations between the USSR and the United States.

Third, the United States and the Soviet Union are the most influential states in the Warsaw Pact and NATO. One may assume that in the coming decade, these alliances will more and more lose their military orientation with an intensification of their political functions. But in any event, he noted, as long as the Warsaw Pact and NATO exist, regardless of which aspect of their activities assumes a priority character, relations between the USSR and the United States will retain their importance as the axis around which the whole global situation "rotates" in practice.

Fourth, cooperation between the USSR and the United States cannot fail to be of decisive importance in averting an ecological catastrophe. It is possible to think that at the present time, when the threat of thermonuclear war is realistically easing, the ecological peril for the whole of mankind is coming to the fore. Meanwhile the struggle to preserve the environment knows no national boundaries and absolutely does not tolerate the self-isolation of any state. This naturally applies especially to such states as the USSR and the United States.

It is hard to exaggerate the potential importance of Soviet-American cooperation also for eliminating the poverty and backwardness of the Third World as well as the dangerous diseases that threaten to spread quickly throughout the entire world.

Fifth, Ye. M. Primakov went on to say, the configuration of Soviet-American relations in the 1990's will, to a considerable extent, be determined by the scientific and technological component. For the next decade can pass by under the sign of the conversion of the defense industry. In this way, he continued, relations between the Soviet Union and the United States in the 1990's will preserve their important significance. At the same time, it would be unforgivably erroneous to view the whole world only through the prism of these relations. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that after 1992, a qualitively new stage in the development of Western Europe will begin—the Common Market is being created which will level economic boundaries between the states of this region. In essence, a united West European center is being formed which has a greater economic potential than the United States. Judging by everything, the irregular development of the Asia-Pacific region countries, which has already produced several leaders who in the 1980's have successfully thrown down a challenge to the industrially developed countries, will continue. The national economic potential of China and India is increasing at great speed. Japan, which at the end of the decade has already become recognized as one of the leaders of scientific and technical progress in the world, has no intention whatsoever of giving up its position in the 1990s.

At the same time, the head of the Soviet delegation continued, it is possible to forecast with confidence serious social and political changes in a number of countries, irrespective of the path of development originally chosen by them. They will inevitably take place in the following decade, and maybe especially in the next decade.

All this taken together cannot but be taken into account in Soviet-American relations. Only complete realism in evaluating processes in the world and only a firm recognition of the indisputable right of all countries to an independent choice of one or another model of development can create conditions favoring not only a growth in trust but also fruitful cooperation between the USSR and the United States, he noted. Only on the basis of the objective course of the development of history, and not by acting against it, is it possible to create a firm base for Soviet-American relations.

Raising the question of what has a restraining influence on the development of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States at the present time, Ye. M. Primakov stressed that this is not an empty question since without an answer to it, it is difficult to define even the tempo of the development of Soviet-American relations in the coming decade.

Today, he said, a return to a "game with a nil result" could have a most negative result: once again to begin to evaluate situations difficult for one side as definitely advantageous for the other, and vice versa. It would seem that we have already departed from such an understanding. But the danger of returning to it nonetheless exists, since the enemy image has not fully been dispelled, something that also directly affects the perception of events and processes happening on "the other side". And in the United States, such a stereotype is displayed to a much greater extent than in our country not only in psychology but also directly in politics. It is sufficient to refer to the COCOM restrictions which the United States is stubbornly insisting upon. The Jackson-Vanik Amendment, whereby discriminatory instances that impede the development of our economic contacts with the United States are artificially maintained, also still exists. True, the breakthrough, which has become outlined in the U.S. Congress in respect of this amendment, gives hope. Our democratization too, and especially the draft law which has been prepared envisaging the practice of exits and entries to the USSR with precise observance of generally recognized international standards, promotes such a breakthrough.

In the military sphere, he continued, the rapprochement between the two states may, as formerly, be impeded by certain circles which insist on quite high ceilings in the sphere of arms reduction. These circles are not so much concerned about the genuine interests of national security, as about the prospect of losing their place in the economy and in politics.

Ye. M. Primakov named two further circumstances which, as he noted, may preserve their negative influence on the process of reduction of Soviet-American armaments in the 1990's. They are an attempt to compensate for the armaments being removed from the arsenals of the two states by means of adopting and developing new programs in the military sphere which improve in quality the military potential of the two states. Another complicating factor could be the preservation of the American position with respect to its naval forces which are being elevated to a rank of being just about "untouchable". How can one help but mention a dual standard here, he stressed: the United States is demanding of the USSR renunciation of the "advantages" in the infantry sphere and at the same time, is refusing to even talk about the possibility of beginning reduction in their big advantage at sea.

Evaluating the prospects for Soviet-American relations for the coming decade, Ye. M. Primakov expressed hope that they will develop in a dynamic way and will come out onto a new qualitative level. They bear too great a value for all of us, he stressed in conclusion, and too great is the dependence of all world affairs on them.

'New Parliamentarians' in Delegation

LD0411232889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The 12-day visit to the United States by a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation ends today. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Zorin] These days, the United States is enormously impressed by the news about the soon-to-be-held first, still informal, summit meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush, and this circumstance has predetermined even greater interest in the trip around the United States by our deputies.

[Ye.M. Primakov, head of the Soviet parliamentary delegation] This was sensation number one for the United States; everybody has been talking about it and living this piece of news. And we have felt first hand how important relations with the Soviet Union are for each American now. This is now the main priority.

Our delegation is composed of people who really represent the new Soviet Parliament, the new Supreme Soviet of the new convocation. There are Deputies Bisher and Sobchak, Yarin and Krayko, Ryabchenko, and many others who are truly new parliamentarians. Meeting them has given an extraordinarily great deal to the United States. They represent our country in a worthy manner. The main impression is the the United States has changed its attitude to the Soviet Union. Perestroyka has changed things; it has changed approaches to us; it has changed people's point of view about us. And this applies to everyone—to leaders and to the ordinary; regular Americans whom we met; there was simply a wave of warmth from these meetings. [End recording]

Primakov Interview on U.S. Trip

PM0711162589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report plus interview with Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the

Union and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by own correspondent L. Koryavin: "Great Interest"]

[Text] New York, 6 Nov—The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, which was in the United States on the invitation of the leadership of the U.S. Congress, returned home Sunday.

The delegation was seen off at J.F. Kennedy Airport in New York by Yu.V. Dubinin, Soviet ambassador to the United States, and A.M. Belonogov, permanent USSR representative at the United Nations.

The delegation returned to Moscow the same day. [TASS report ends]

In conversation with your IZVESTIYA correspondent Soviet delegation head Ye.M. Primakov noted:

"The following can be said in summing up the visit to the United States by the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation: For our delegation representing the newly formed Supreme Soviet, it was a meeting with America, and for America, it was a meeting with the newly elected Soviet parliamentarians. The meetings with top-level representatives of the administration—President G. Bush and Secretary of State J. Baker—with U.S. senators and congressmen, and with representatives of the public and ordinary Americans certainly gave rise to very interesting impressions and observations.

"We visited various parts of America—both the east and west coasts and the states of Maine, California, and Kansas—and we visited Washington and New York. And we gained the following impression from all these visits: Attitudes toward the Soviet Union have greatly changed in the United States. A desire to understand our problems has emerged, along with goodwill and a great interest in the USSR. And all this naturally has taken place as a result of perestroyka in our country. The fact that at that time it was announced that a meeting will be held in the Mediterranean between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and President G. Bush also prompted particular interest in our delegation's visit.

"Of course, there are forces in the United States that try to play on our difficulties and exploit these difficulties in their own interests, but this is now no longer true of the United States as a whole or of the overwhelming majority of Americans. On the subject of America's acquaintance with us, I think that the Americans clarified many things for themselves in conversations with Soviet parliamentarians, and they were pleased with the numerous contacts with our delegation. This was reflected in the comments of the people we met and in the statements made by the U.S. press and television. The comments in the U.S. press on the visit by our delegation were numerous, and, I note, benevolent. Newspapers stressed that the Americans now have a better understanding of what our country's new legislative body is like—it is not a body that votes or adopts decisions purely formally, but a constructive and democratic body that reflects the interests of the people. Its deputies work to actively advance perestroyka."

Pozner on 'Friendliness' of U.S. Meeting

LD0611191489 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—The fifth Chautauqua conference on U.S.-Soviet relations had an atmosphere of extreme friendliness, Vladimir Pozner, political news analyst of USSR state television and radio, today told TASS at the Moscow airport upon the delegation's return from the USA.

He said that during meetings and in reports of official representatives there were few attempts to blame the other side. There was no recrimination such as took place in Jurmala and later decreased somewhat in Tbilisi.

There was the clearly manifested wish not to give offense to the other side. The tone of proncouncements showed the intention to look together for the solution of outstanding questions. A sense of renewed friendship appeared.

Such is the opinion of the person knowledgeable of problems of Soviet-American contacts.

Soviet writer Viktor Astafyev, USSR people's deputy, who first visited the USA, was much impressed by high living standards and friendliness of Americans. Sharing his impressions from the visit to Pittsburgh where the conference was held, the writer said he was most favourably impressed by politeness and orderliness.

"One is aware that everything is looked after. We got used to thinking that capitalists hoard money. In reality, they invest them in the country's prosperity. They have accumulated much experience in environmental protection and are ready to share it", he said.

Communique on Supreme Soviet Group's U.S. Visit

PM0711164589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov Morning Edition p 4

["Joint Communique by a USSR Supreme Soviet Delegation and the U.S. Senate"—headline]

[Text] A delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet headed by Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the Union, was staying in the United States between October 25 and November 5 at the invitation of Senate Democratic majority leader George Mitchell and Senate Republican minority leader Robert Dole.

This was the first official visit by a Soviet parliamentary delegation after the election of a new Soviet legislature.

In Washington, the delegation had detailed discussions with a large number of congressmen and administration leaders.

It met Senate and House leaders, members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Senate group of observers over the arms control talks.

During his meeting in the White House, Ye. M. Primakov handed over to U.S. President G. Bush a personal message from M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. There was a meeting between the delegations and U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker, and other State Department officials.

The members of the delegation visited the states of Maine, Kansas, California, Pennsylvania, and New York, where they met representatives of different strata of U.S. society, including officials of state and local government bodies, heads of economic circles, and farmers.

There were lengthy discussions in Washington on a wide range of questions affecting Soviet-U.S. relations. The members of the Soviet delegation told their U.S. colleagues in detail about the processes underway in the Soviet Union, first and foremost about the course of the implementation of perestroyka and the political reform, about the activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet, its legislative program, and the approaches of deputies to key questions of internal life and international problems.

The senators and members of the House of Representatives, and the delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet discussed a wide range of arms control issues, including the current state and prospects of negotiations on nuclear and conventional arms.

The Geneva talks on nuclear tests and chemical weapons were also discussed. The sides agreed that arms limitation continues to be an important and promising element of Soviet-U.S. relations.

The Soviet delegation was particularly interested in the Senate's role in the ratification of treaties.

The members of the U.S. Congress touched on a wide circle of questions in the area of human rights, including the freedom to leave [vyyezd] and freedom of religion. They also asked about relations between the nationalities in the USSR and ways of solving the problems that have arisen in that area, and about the views of the Soviet MPs toward the examination by the Supreme Soviet of draft laws connected with human rights and the legal reform, in particular the law on entry into and departure from the USSR.

The Soviet delegation favoured broader Soviet-American economic cooperation and trade. It urgently called on the United States to remove obstacles impeding the development of normal trade relations.

Both countries' legislators supported efforts to implement measures which would lead toward the elimination of obstacles stemming from the economic systems, administrative procedures, and rules operating in the two countries, which at the present time limit the expansion of economic cooperation.

Parliamentarians of both countries pointed to the growing understanding of the importance of transnational problems, such as damage to the environment, international terrorism, drug trafficking, and the forecasting of natural calamities and global epidemics.

The sides agreed that the Supreme Soviet and U.S. Congress can make a considerable contribution to international efforts to solve these global problems and are ready to seek the achievement of these goals.

They expressed support for victims of earthquakes and natural calamities in their countries.

American legislators and Soviet deputies called for wider contacts and for a continued dialogue on the basis of more regular exchanges to discuss common problems of Soviet-U.S. relations and concrete issues of mutual interest.

The sides agreed that intensive working relations will promote progress in the establishment of closer relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, based at a higher level of cooperation.

China

PRC Leaders on Aims of Nationalities Policy

PM0711153789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "The Task Is To Unite All Nations"]

[Text] The main thrust of work to resolve the nationalities problem in China is to unite all nations. This has been stressed in speeches by Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, and Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council.

In his speech Jiang Zemin positively assessed relations between nations and ethnic groups in the PRC at the present stage. However, he said, so-called "spiritual heroes" who fled abroad after the riots and counterrevolutionary uprising in Beijing are uniting hostile forces who want to split China and are trying to destroy the peoples' unity and influence the calm and stability in the country.

Li Peng noted the successes achieved by the country's ethnic minorities during the 40 years of the PRC's existence and particularly during the decade of reforms. It is necessary to continue work to ensure equal status for every ethnic minority in the country in all spheres of social life. The question of national unity must hold an important place among all the questions of building the motherland, the head of the Chinese Government stressed.

Soviet, Chinese Scholars Discuss UN Role

OW0511112189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0200 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] A delegation from the United Nations Association of China led by Professor Bi Jilong, president of the association, has visited the Soviet Union. It attended the 32d plenary meeting in Moscow of the world association for promoting the work of the United Nations. After attending the meeting, the Chinese delegation stayed in Moscow for several more days and held discussions with its Soviet counterpart. The representatives of the United Nations Associations of China and the Soviet Union had a 2-day discussion in a friendly atmosphere of seeking truth from facts.

After their discussion was over, our reporter asked Morozov, vice president of the United Nations Association of the Soviet Union and head of the Soviet delegation, about the issues discussed.

Morozov said: [Morozov is briefly heard, speaking in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] It was our first meeting. We and our Chinese counterparts were unanimous that the discussion was beneficial and had good prospects, and decided that more discussions would be held in the future. The topic discussed was the role of the United Nations in the present international relations. We discussed such questions as disarmament, mediation of international conflicts, China's viewpoint on the establishment of a new international order, and the Soviet Union's viewpoint on new political thinking. During the discussion, we agreed that the United Nations Associations of the Soviet Union and China should work hard to promote cooperation between our two countries.

Answering the question whether or not he was satisfied with the bilateral discussion meeting, Bi Jilong, president of the United Nations Association of China, said: [Begin recording] Although it was our first meeting, we are greatly satisfied with the discussion with our Soviet counterparts. The Soviet side prepared the meeting very well. The meeting, presided over by Comrade Morozov, was a great success. We are very glad that our first meeting ended so successfully. We discussed many questions, including questions about the world, the United Nations, and our bilateral cooperation. In short, we are full of confidence that the present international situation is in favor of peace and development in the world. We are convinced that the United Nations Associations of our two countries will cooperate with each other and make greater contributions to world peace and development and to the United Nations. At the same time, I'd like to take this opportunity to thank the United Nations Association of the Soviet Union for according us a very friendly reception. We are very grateful. [end recording]

PRC, Bulgarian Foreign Ministers Confer

PM0811110789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ministers Express Concern"]

[Text] Beijing, 7 Nov—The Chinese and Bulgarian foreign ministers expressed concern over the development of events in certain European countries at talks held in Beijing Monday. At the same time, the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO reports today, Qian Qichen and Petur Mladenov particularly stressed that "all this exclusively concerns those states themselves, and the principle of noninterference in each other's internal affairs should be adhered to in this area."

Touching on bilateral relations, the leaders of the PRC and Bulgarian foreign policy departments noted the steady development of Chinese-Bulgarian ties in the 40 years since diplomatic relations were established, and the particularly rapid and gratifying development they have enjoyed in recent years. In the process of the implementation of economic reform, the PRC foreign minister stated, China and Bulgaria are feeling their way along new paths for building up the volume of bilateral trade and economic relations.

For his part, P. Mladenov stressed that Bulgaria and the PRC hold identical views on many international problems. As he put it, Bulgaria devotes exceptionally close attention to studying the experience of Chinese reform.

The same day P. Mladenov met with PRC Premier Li Peng, who expressed the hope that friendship and cooperation between the two countries would develop further. Stable international peace and a domestic political situation of stability and cohesion, the Chinese leader said, are the determining prerequisites for the successful implementation of reform and economic building in the PRC.

Northeast Asia

DPRK Veterans Group Visits, Meets Kochetov

PM0711151789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Korean Veterans' Tour"]

[Excerpts] A delegation from the DPRK Committee of Veterans and Anti-imperialist Fighters headed by Army General Chon Mun-sop, chairman of the committee, member of the Workers Party of Korea Central Committee, and deputy in the Supreme People's Assembly, visited the USSR 27 October through 2 November at the invitation of the Soviet War Veterans Committee. The delegation had conversations with Marshal of Aviation A.P. Silantyev, chairman of the Soviet War Veterans Committee and USSR people's deputy; Colonel General (Retired) G.V. Sredin, deputy chairman; and members of the committee's presidium. They discussed the state of and prospects for developing ties between Soviet and

Korean veterans and their involvement in the international veterans movement. The delegation members were acquainted with the activity of the Soviet War Veterans Committee. [passage omitted].

The delegation had a conversation with Army General K.A. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister. [Passage omitted].

DPRK, Soviet Journalists Meet in Pyongyang

PM0711140489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Nov 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "'Roundtable' Session"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 5 Nov—The editorial offices of the CPSU Central Committee journal KOMMUNIST and the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee journal KULLOJA held a "roundtable" session here on problems of party leadership of socialist building.

The participants in the meeting held a discussion on ways of safeguarding the party's vanguard role in perestroyka in all aspects of public life in the USSR and in building socialism in the DPRK and on the general and particular problems in the work of the CPSU and the WPK in present-day conditions.

Attention was focused on questions of the activity of the fraternal parties in formulating and implementing a socioeconomic strategy and policy in the spiritual sphere, and of ensuring the unity of the party and people. The Korean and Soviet representatives exchanged experience of party building and of improving the forms and methods of party work.

In the course of frank discussions, the peculiarities of the two parties' approaches to a number of problems of politics and economics were revealed, and contentious theoretical topics were discussed. Among them were questions concerning the interpretation of the revolutionary nature of the renewal processes taking place in society, the role of the subjective factor in socialist transformations, contradictions, and the duration and degree of intensity of the class struggle under socialism. All these problems, the participants in the debate noted, demand further discussion.

Mongolia Military Delegation Visit Summed Up

PM0711170389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Friendly Visit"]

[Text] A delegation of leading political workers from the Mongolian People's Army led by Major General S. Vanchindorj, chief of the Mongolian People's Army Political Directorate, was in the Soviet Union 30 October through 5 November at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation was received by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister.

The Mongolian People's Army political workers had a conversation at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee with A.S. Kamay, secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

They also had a conversation with Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Zh. Ensaykhan [name as published], Mongolian charge d'affaires ad interim in the Soviet Union, took part. The delegation had meetings and conversations in the directorates for ideological and organizational party work in which Colonel General G.A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and Lieutenant General B.D. Lukinykh took part.

During conversations at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate and the Belorussian Military District Political Directorate the Mongolian comrades were acquainted with experience of party political work in the Soviet Armed Forces and with the complex of measures being implemented in connection with realizing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the perestroyka taking place in the country, the Army, and the Navy.

The Mongolian guests briefed the Soviet side on progress in implementing the 19th Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Congress decisions and on party political work in the Mongolian People's Army.

The conversations were held in a warm, friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding on all the problems discussed.

The delegation visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

A rally was held in a Belorussian Military District military unit and took the form of a vivid demonstration of the friendship and combat cooperation between servicemen of the Soviet and Mongolian Armed Forces.

Rogachev Received by Mongolian Official

LD3110180289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1313 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 31 Oct. (TASS)—I.A. Rogachev, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, who is here on a working visit, was today received by Ts. Gombosuren, minister of foreign affairs of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR].

A friendly conversation took place, during which Soviet-Mongolian relations were examined and problems of the Asian-Pacific region were touched on. Both sides stressed the importance of increasing interaction between the USSR and the MPR in the interests of achieving positive changes in Asia.

D. Yondon, first deputy minister for foreign affairs of the MPR, and V.I. Sitnikov, USSR ambassador to the MPR, took part in the conversation.

Near East & South Asia

UK MP Seeks MIA's Release From Afghanistan

PM0711163789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent A. Pecherskiy dispatch: "Humanitarian Mission. Search for Soviet Prisoners of War Continues"]

[Text] Kabul, 6 Nov—Minor adventures preceded this meeting. My colleague and I spent more than an hour roaming Kabul's narrow streets, trying to find the right house according to the inconsistent directions of passersby. We were on the point of despair, but in the end, after long ordeals, we found ourselves in the agreed place...

Lord Nicholas Bethell, member [of the House of Lords] of the British Parliament and member of the European Parliament's Human Rights Commission, had already spent several days in the Afghan capital on a delicate mission. Quite naturally, our brother journalists were not allowed to see him. But then a few hours before the lord's departure from Kabul, permission for a brief conversation was received. Sir Nicholas Bethell had arrived recently from Moscow, where he met with the leaders of the Soviet Public Coordinating Committee for the Release of Soviet Servicemen Taken Prisoner in Afghanistan. He also talked with the mothers of missing soldiers.

"I am acting on my own initiative," N. Bethell said. "True, the steps I am taking have been approved by the British Government and by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher personally. People in the United States know about this, too." Lord Bethell conducted the conversation in good Russian.

The European Parliament's Human Rights Commission has been tackling the problem of prisoners in Afghanistan for several years now. As long ago as 1984 Lord Bethell paid an unofficial visit to the country. He met with Soviet prisoners here in the camps of G. Hikmatyar and S. Mojadeddi. At that time two of them were released and sent to Britain. The guys spent approximately 5 months in Britain and then returned to the Soviet Union. Bethell met with one of them, Igor Rykov, in Leningrad this summer. Igor is now living and working in the village of Verkhnevolsk, Vologda Oblast.

Bethell described the living conditions for prisoners of war in the Khezbulla [name as published] Camp near Qandahar. "They were living in a simple hole," he said. "Sergey Tseluyevskiy, who now lives in Lomonosov City, Leningrad Oblast, will be able to tell you the details better than anyone. After his release he was taken to the United States, and he returned to the motherland 1 year later. Several people are still in the United States.

"The grief of a mother who has lost her son always touches the heart deeply. And I really want us to find all the missing people. Only we must act more decisively. According to my data, unfortunately no more than 50-60 of the 320 soldiers who disappeared and of whom the Soviet Government speaks could have remained alive. But they must be rescued all the same. In my opinion, the majority of the prisoners are on Afghan territory, in the hands of the groupings of Hikmatyar and Rabbani."

According to the Afghan Government's data, approximately 2,000 persons sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for antistate activities are in Kabul prisons. Following Lord Bethell's meeting with President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan, three "diehards" were released from prison. This was by no means the first such act of mercy by the Afghan Government.

And now, screwing up their eyes in the bright sun, they stood before us in the yard of the detached house where the meeting was taking place. Ordinary, quite unremarkable faces. Jumaghullah from Vardak is 49 years old. He spent the last 10 of them conducting counterrevolutionary propaganda. He belonged to Hikmatyar's grouping. He claimed to be acting under duress, under threat of death.

Jan Muhammad, a truck driver from Langar, is quite elderly. He did not hide his happiness at being released. Gaza Muhammad, also from Vardak, is a young guy of about 20 from Gaylani's grouping. "We want just one thing," he said, interrupting the interpreter. "We want peace to come at last and the fate of prisoners of war on both sides to be decided."

Lord Bethell was heading for Peshawar for the purpose of influencing the opposition leaders on the question of releasing the captured Soviet soldiers and Afghan Army servicemen. "I believe," he said, "that we will be able to coordinate bilateral actions which will accelerate the release process. Although it will be very difficult to do this.

"I do not hide," Bethell continued, "the fact that during my first trip to Afghanistan I supported the mujahidin struggle and was opposed to the Soviet military presence here. Now that the Soviet troops have left the country, it is necessary to try to find a way to resolve the Afghan problem and proceed to a process of reconciliation between the Afghan Government and the opposition forces. A two-way exchange of prisoners of war will promote this. It is perfectly obvious now that an end to the war in Afghanistan is in the interests of the two superpowers and of West Europe. President Najibullah told me the number of Afghans who have died in the war. One million people..."

Two young girls and a guy entered the yard. They were all wearing on their chest a big round badge with a red cross. The released men were handed over to the representatives of the International Red Cross. They will now be sent on to Peshawar.

Najibullah Greets Friendship Society on Jubilee

PM0711165789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Greetings Telegram"]

[Text] Afghan President Najibullah, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, has sent a greetings telegram to the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the society's members and activists in connection with the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Afghanistan.

The 30 years of fruitful work done by the Soviet Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Afghanistan, the message notes, have been a notable phenomenon in the more than 70-year history of traditional friendship between our countries' free and peace-loving peoples.

Marking this date with Afghan-Soviet Friendship Days, the Afghan people express profound gratitude to the Soviet Union and its people, who did not even spare the lives of their sons to help our country to repel foreign aggression and who continue to give Afghanistan all-around help and support in safeguarding peace and restoring the economy, the telegram stresses.

Commmentary on Mideast Peace Plans

TA0211205589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1600 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Commentary by Andrey Vasilyev—read by announcer]

[Text] Now let us offer you a commentary by our commentator Andrey Vasilyev on the current developments of the Middle East situation. In diplomacy, writes the commentator, we often encounter a phenomenon which in chess is called [word indistinct]: Whoever moves first [word indistinct] his position. The impression right now is that the negotiations between the United States, Israel, Egypt, and the Palestinians has reached precisely that situation. The United States has been trying, although without much success, to bring Israel and the Palestinians from the territories to the negotiating table. Egypt has also joined this effort, and has likewise scored no success. Israel—or to be more precise, the Likud members of the Cabinet—is not prepared to sit down with PLO members and is not prepared to give that organization any role in the political process, to the point of demanding the right to veto the composition of the Palestinian delegation. The Israeli Government has also demanded that the negotiations at this stage be limited to discussions of the election plan. The PLO leadership has rejected these terms. The [word indistinct] in Tunis maintain that the organization is recognized by more countries than Israel. Therefore it has every right to be represented in the peace process. They also say that they intend to raise additional issues for discussion in negotiations, including the issue of establishing a sovereign Palestinian state.

Can common ground be found to bridge the gaps? The situation in Israel is a tie, which means no progress toward peace, although the public is leaning more and more toward supporting the moderates. Shim'on Peres calls for a dialogue with the Palestinians, and the Labor Party which he heads is prepared to engage in any form of negotiations with the representatives from the territories, but Yitzhaq Shamir will not budge. I told my friends in the United States, he noted, that we will never agree to negotiate with the terrorist organization, as the PLO and peace are mutually exclusive.

The initiative in the PLO remains, for the moment, in the hands of 'Arafat's moderates. They are evidently amenable to a compromise solution, but are pressured by members of the radical cadres which accuse them of conceding too much. At least part of the problem stems from the personal considerations of the leaders of the various fronts competing with the PLO. They issue particularly harsh criticism of the intensive contacts Fatah has been fostering with President Mubarak. George Habash has gone so far as to threaten to kill the Egyptian president. Although Mubarak was piqued, he remains undeterred and continues the [word indistinct] contacts.

At the same time, the intifadah [uprising] has shown that violence leads to a dead end. The rocks and the firebombs merely annoy the Israelis, while the tear gas and the plastic bullets only anger the Palestinians. If violence results in radicalization, those who are not interested in radicalization should prevent violence and aspire toward a political solution.

From the strategic point of view, time is not working in Israel's favor. The demographic factor, as well as the international factor—namely the growing support of the Western leaders, particularly those of Western Europe, for the Arabs—have an impact. This is particularly noticeable in countries like France, Italy, and Norway. Thus, for example, the book written by the former Norwegian ambassador to Israel, Torleiv Anda, called "The Intifadah, the [word indistinct], and Israel," has recently been published in Norway. Anda writes that he has changed his mind about the PLO and that he no longer regards it as a terrorist organization. No peace in the Middle East would be possible without the PLO, maintains Torleiv Anda.

Meanwhile, the Israeli authorities have rejected that position out of hand. Yet time will evidently have an effect, and everything can still change.

Sub-Saharan Africa

U.S. Policy Seen Obstructing Angola Settlement

PM0811123789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 89 First Edition p3

[V. Vinogradov article under the rubric "Observer's Opinion": "Preconditions for Peace"]

[Text] Another group of Cuban servicemen has flown out of Luanda, bound for home. Their departure completed the withdrawal from Angola of half of the 50,000-strong Cuban military contingent in this African country. In line with the agreements on a settlement in South-West Africa, signed in New York in December last year, the total withdrawal of Cuban troops will be completed by 1 July 1991. The Angolan press has also reported that the Cuban subunits still remaining in Angola have been withdrawn to north of the 13th parallel.

Thus, Angola is scrupulously abiding by the terms of the New York agreements to the letter, which cannot be said of the other signatories. This primarily applies to the United States, which, contrary to the spirit and the letter of these documents, is continuing to give aid to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], thereby frustrating the achievement of a settlement in Angola. According to Zambian President K. Kaunda, chairman of the group of "frontline" states, Washington refuses to review its policy toward Angola and to cease interfering in the internal affairs of this sovereign country.

UNITA leader J. Savimbi is continuing to display an irresponsible attitude. First he recognized and then he rejected the accords reached in the Zairian town of Gbadolite which would have put an end to the long war in Angola.... In my view, this behavior can only be explained by the comprehensive support received from the United States. This support was reaffirmed during a recent trip across the ocean by J. Savimbi, when he was given personal assurances from President G. Bush that not only would the United States not leave his group without financial and military aid but that this aid would be increased.

So the explosive sounds of war continue to rumble through Angola and the blood of innocent Angolan citizens, the victims of terrorist attacks by UNITA rebel formations, is still being shed. Just recently, according to an information report from the General Staff of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA], terrorists have burned down several villages in the provinces of Huila and Benguela.

Nevertheless, the Angolan Government is not slackening its efforts to achieve a settlement in the country by peaceful means. Suffice it to say that Kh. Neto [initial as published], one of the former leaders of the now disbanded antigovernment grouping, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola [FNLA], which conducted combat operations with UNITA in the past against the Luanda authorities, has returned to Angola after 14 years in emigration. "The Angolan Government," Kh. Neto said, "has displayed political maturity by creating an atmosphere of openness in the country and removing the reasons that have forced some Angolans to live abroad on political grounds." In conclusion, he added that a cease-fire by UNITA and the voluntary integration of its members into Angolan society could serve as the basis on which a settlement could be reached in the country.

The Angolan Government's efforts to stabilize the situation in the country are meeting with understanding and active support from the majority of countries in independent Africa. This is attested by a number of multilateral meetings and consultations held recently. The most recent, which was attended by the heads of Gabon, Zambia, Ivory Coast, and Sao Tome and Principe was held in the Ivory Coast capital, Yamassoukro. Its participants spoke in favor of Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko continuing to act as mediator at the talks between the Angolan Government and the UNITA grouping. It was also decided that the next meeting of the leaders of the eight African states involved in seeking ways to achieve a peace settlement in Angola will be held at the end of this month in the capital of Gabon. And the fact that official talks have been held in Luanda between representatives of the Angolan government and W. Clark, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, cannot fail to inspire hope. After all, there is no doubt that if Washington were to review its as yet uncompromising policy toward Angola, this could have a positive impact on the development of events in that country.

Peace must come to the long-suffering land of Angola in the end. The preconditions for this do exist.

Commentary Says S. Africa Situation 'Changing'

PM0211160989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Nov 89 Second Edition p5

[Own correspondent Igor Tarutin commentary: "What Lies Behind the Changes"]

[Text] Harare, 31 Oct—President Frederik de Klerk of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) has publicly announced his intention to lift the state of emergency that has been in force in the country for 3 years now. True, he did say that it will possibly not be lifted immediately, but gradually, first in some regions and then in others. Moreover, according to the head of government, the authorities will take this step only if this does not lead to increased tension and outbreaks of violence.

However, for all the provisos, this statement is quite important. The regime has used the state of emergency to smash democratic organizations, keep people behind bars without trial, and ban virtually any demonstration of protest. Consequently, all progressive forces have unanimously demanded that this repressive measure be abandoned. And now it seems that the ruling circles are prepared to meet this demand halfway.

Noteworthy events have been taking place in general in the RSA in recent days. Eight well-known political prisoners have been released. They include Walter Sisulu, former general secretary of the African National Congress (ANC), who has been incarcerated for more than 25 years. Moreover, a mass rally has been staged in Soweto with the participation of the released ANC leaders and in their honor. For the first time in 30 years leaders of the organization which has been outlawed and operated underground openly appeared before an audience of many thousands.

This is a fundamentally important political moment in South African life. A precedent is arising and also a qualitatively new situation, attesting to real changes. F. de Klerk has repeatedly stated his intention to make these changes, virtually from the moment he became head of the ruling nationalist party. However, until recently his statements have been largely declaratory and their sincerity has been questioned by many. But now F. de Klerk seems to be starting to act.

Naturally, there is no point in becoming euphoric or being excessively moved by this. First, because the reforms are not a magnanimous gift from the ruling circles. Pretoria is being pushed into them by powerful pressure from the oppressed black majority, the courageous struggle waged by patriots, and increasing pressure from the international community. Secondly, only the first steps have been taken. Apartheid as a system of power has yet to disappear. And its most odious laws have not been abolished.

Nevertheless, the situation in the RSA is changing. The question of whether an internal settlement is brought about peacefully or by other means largely depends on those who are now at the helm of state authority.

RSA Campaign Against SWAPO Analyzed

LD0511113689 Moscow TASS in English 1010 GMT 5 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 5 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik:

The demand put forward by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda that South Africa should give the international community guarantees that it would refrain from any provocations during the forthcoming elections in Namibia is now becoming particularly topical in view of manoeuvres being undertaken by the Pretoria regime to intefere with the democratic expression of will by the Namibians.

The principal aim of South Africa, which has been illegally occupying Namibia for decades, is to discredit the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) patriotic forces that have been at the head of the struggle by the population of the territory for genuine independence.

Heightening tension in the run-up to the November 7-11 elections to a constituent assembly in Namibia, the South African Government recently alleged that SWAPO armed forces crossed into Namibia from Angola in breach of earlier accords.

On this plea South Africa alerted its troops stationed at the border with Namibia and at the Namibian port of Walvis Bay.

At the same time the South Africa press carried a series of articles from which it was clear that the Pretoria regime was preparing to 'teach' SWAPO.

However, specialists from the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG), upon analysing the materials provided by South Africa arrived at a conclusion that this was a falsehood.

A question arises: Why did Pretoria need to misinform the public opinion again? An overwhelming majority of analysts believe that this was done in an attempt to cast aspersions upon SWAPO, to find a pretext to frustrate the implementation of the U.N. plan for Namibia and at the same time to justify South Africa's own illegal actions in the territory.

Recently UNTAG had to begin an investigation in view of reports that Namibian police, operating under the control of the South African administration, was distributing arms among white people in the country's northern areas.

The positions of SWAPO, which is considered the main contender for a win during the forthcoming elections to the constituent assembly, are particularly strong in those areas.

Two thousand people are being recruited into police without UNTAG's knowledge. Most recruits are former members of the Koevoet punitive battalion or ethnic units that became a practiced hand in anti-guerrilla warfare.

Eight hundred officers of the South African armed forces are now in the country for no reason.

Neo-colonialist circles have stepped up anti-SWAPO propaganda in the run-up to the elections and are heating up the situation in the country in every way in an attempt to prevent SWAPO from gaining a two-thirds majority which would enable the patriots to prepare a constitution of independent Namibia and form a one-party government.

A correspondent of the U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT admitted in a dispatch from Windhoek tht South Africa pursues a campaign to intimidate the electorate in Namibia in order to force them to cast their votes for SWAPO's political adversaries.

Such actions by South Africa only strain the already uneasy situation in Namibia, a briefing in the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Press Centre was told.

The Soviet Union believes that everything necessary should be undertaken to create a normal, calm atmosphere for the holding of elections in Namibia, the ministry's spokesman said.

'Savage Wars' in Horn of Africa Viewed

EA0511201789 Moscow International Service in Somali in 1600 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] The Horn of Africa, mostly composed of northern Ethiopia, southern Sudan, and Somalia, continues to experience savage wars between the governments of those countries and numerous armed rebel movements. Commenting on that issue, our reporter Vladimir Borisov says the confrontation continues to escalate. Reports of complete turmoil continue to come from the Horn of Africa, similar to what is going on in southern Africa. The situations of the countries of the Horn of Africa are greatly interwoven and cannot be separated out. The situation in southern Africa is similar, but the ongoing attempt to find a solution to the question of Namibia and the internal talks that may start in the Republic of South Africa may be the beginning of a new dawn. The situation in the Horn of Africa, however, remains in total darkness.

The tension in Ethiopia, where the Tigray Liberation Front is fighting to topple the Addis Ababa government, continues to increase. Having gained control of its territory, the Tigray Liberation Front is now moving into neighboring regions. The government has thrown all its resources into checking the Tigrayan advance. This will no doubt lead to new agony and great distress.

The situation in Sudan is becoming worse because the Khartoum government, headed by General al-Bashir, and the Christian rebels, headed by John Garang, have failed to halt the worsening situation. The use of force on either side cannot bring a solution.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Mogadishu government headed by President Mohamed Siad Barre is facing greater turmoil. Rebel movements, based on tribal lines, are in full control of many regions of Somalia. The government's proposal to hold talks on the democratization of the Republic has been set back. The rebel movements hope the government's position may weaken or may completely collapse and they have not replied to Mogadishu's proposal.

The crisis facing the Horn of Africa is further exacerbated by the relations the rebel movements in those countries have with neighboring countries. Political games based on such relations aimed at weakening or completely crushing internal enemies can only bring further internal rifts. This crisis is further worsened by the famine facing those countries.

Can the Horn of Africa solve the crisis facing it? The only answer to the problems facing the region is to accommodate the views of others, and take political steps that may democratize the peoples' lives. An example can be taken from the current situation in southern Africa. It is not surprising that the Nobel Peace Prize winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, has proposed mediating to reduce the tension prevailing in Sudan and Ethiopia. This proposal has been accepted by leaders of rebel movements. The real hope is based on the forthcoming second round of talks between representatives of the Ethiopian Government and the Eritrean Liberation Front to be held in Nairobi on 18 November 1989, and tomorrow's in Rome, Italy, between an Ethiopian Government delegation and representatives of the Tigray Liberation Movement. It will be a futile attempt if all sides rely on arms and foreign assistance, or if they see the talks as part of their military strategy. Wars destroy those who fail to resolve their differences through talks and create new friction. Failure to realize that will definitely lead to the collapse of any future peace hopes in the Horn of Africa

Extraordinary Shengo Session in Ethiopia Noted

EA0511202989 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 2 Nov 89

[From the "Africa as We See It" program]

[Text] An extraordinary session of Ethiopia's National Shengo was held in Addis Ababa on 31 October. Maksim Yevgenyev presents the following commentary on it.

The reason for holding the extraordinary session of Ethiopia's National Shengo was the tense situation in many parts of the country, due to the heavy offensive launched by the anti-government group, the Tigray People's Liberation Front [TPLF]. The main tasks considered by the extraordinary session of the National Shengo were: to take coordinated steps in order to counter the rebels who are threatening the sovereignty and territorial unity of Ethiopia and to improve the situation in the country.

As mentioned at the country's parliamentary meeting, in order to safeguard the gains of the revolution, all citizens of the Republic at this trying time should either be deployed to the war front, or give support by undertaking [word indistinct], and thereby make the necessary contribution. In order to eliminate the military threat of the TPLF the collection of funds for irregular forces throughout Ethiopia, necessary for defense purposes, is being launched. Apart from taking military steps, the Ethiopian parliament has called on the government of the Republic to continue its efforts to normalize the situation in the country.

The leadership of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has called on the TPLF to stop the bloodshed, withdraw its army from areas it holds in Gonder and Welo Regions, and return to Tigray. Thi will create favorable conditions for holding the talks to end the conflict.

The TPLF has expressed readiness for talks. There is hope in the talks planned to be held between the Ethiopian Government and the opposition forces. According to some newspapers, it is expected that the representatives of the Ethiopian Government and the TPLF will hold the first round of talks in Rome on 4 November. Likewise, it is believed that on 18 November the representatives of the EPLF and the Ethiopian Government will hold the second round of talks in Nairobi, Kenya.

Maksim Yevgenyev noted that these steps should be supported. Although there is a very complicated situation in Ethiopia, the steps taken have given hope that the prolonged war will be ended. It is not difficult to understand that resolving contradictions through negotiations, without bloodshed, is better than making great sacrifices on the battlefield.

We hope that all sides involved in the conflict have a similar attitude and desire for peace, because it is only possible to undertake urgent tasks, such as improving the living standard of the people by speeding up economic progress, and to overcome the Republic's other problems, when the conflict is solved politically and the situation is normalized.

Nishanov Receives Sao Tome Delegation

PM0211162989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 1 November R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, received a delegation of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe National Popular Assembly led by Francisco Fortunado Pires, member of the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe Central Committee Politburo, member of a Sao Tomean National Popular Assembly standing commission, and Sao Tomean minister of justice and public affairs.

They had a lively discussion on ways to democratize public life and the role played by parliaments in this.

During the exchange of opinions, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, they also discussed questions of bilateral cooperation and topical international problems.

Benin Party Delegation Visits 24 Oct-6 Nov

PM0811092989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A delegation of the Benin People's Revolutionary Party [PRPB] headed by R.T. Vinyor [name as published], member of the PRPB Central Committee, visited the Soviet Union 24 October through 6 November. The Beninese guests familiarized themselves with the progress of perestroyka and the CPSU's activity under the new conditions. The delegation had talks in CPSU Central Committee departments and made a trip to Kiev and Leningrad.

East Europe

TASS Reports GDR Politburo Resignation

LD0811103789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1016 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin, 8 Nov (TASS)—Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, offered the resignation of the SED Central Committee Politburo at a party Central Committee plenum which opened today in Berlin. As was noted, this step should clearly show who is responsible for the situation which has come about. The plenum accepted the resignation proposal unanimously.

The plenum agenda proposed by E.Krenz includes examination of cadre questions, a report by the general secretary, discussion of it, and adopting a decision on a program for action.

Taking part in the work of the plenum are newly elected first secretaries of several SED district committees.

More on Resignations

PM0711151589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 89 p 4

[A. Chursin dispatch: "Changes in the GDR"]

[Text] Berlin—On Friday evening E. Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, delivered a speech to the republic's population, in which he confirmed the party's firm will to consistently continue the policy of renewing the socialist society and urged all his compatriots to cooperate fruitfully. Members of the SED Central Committee Politburo—Central Committee Secretaries H. Axen and K. Hager; State Security Minister E. Mielke; Party Control Commission Chairman E. Mueckenberger; and Council of Ministers First Deputy Chairman A. Neumann—have asked to be released from their duties.

The previous day GDR Public Education Minister Margot Honecker and also a number of other leading state and party workers submitted their resignations.

ADN Cited on Election of New GDR Politburo

LD0811150389 Moscow TASS in English 1354 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin 8/11/ TASS—The GDR news agency ADN reports:

Berlin (ADN)—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany elected a new politburo at its 10th meeting here on Wednesday.

General Secretary Egon Krenz was re-elected unanimously. Hans Modrow was elected a member of the Politburo and nominated for prime minister.

Other new members are Wolfgang Rauchfuss and Wolfgang Herger. Candidate member Gerhard Schuerer was promoted and is now a full member. Re-elected were members Hans-Joachim Boehme, Werner Eberlein, Werner Jaruwinskiy, Siegfried Lorenz, Heinz Kessler and Guenter Schabowski.

Werner Eberlein was chosen to head the Central Control Commission.

Newly-elected candidate members of the Politburo are Johannes Chemnitzer, Guenter Sieber, and Hans-Joachim Willerding. Re-elected to this post were Inge Lange, Margarete Mueller and Werner Walde.

Egon Krenz, Johannes Chemnitzer, Wolfgang Herger, Inge Lange, Siegfried Lorenz, Wolfgang Rauchfuss, Guenter Schabowski and Hans- Joachim Willerding became secretaries of the Central Committee.

IZVESTIYA on East Berlin Demonstration

PM0811102189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 5

[V. Lapskiy report under the rubric "IZVESTIYA Correspondents Comment": "Demonstration in Berlin"]

[Text] Berlin — Berlin has never seen such a thing in 40 years! I am not going to estimate how many tens or hundreds of thousands of people blocked the center, the sea of people was infinite. Since morning columns had been marching with banners and placards. It seemed that all the demands and appeals, reproaches and accusations made in various GDR cities have gathered together today. The words "glasnost" and "perestroyka" were written in German and in Russian. The demonstrators have been demanding genuine, not verbal democracy, and freedom of the press and opinions, and have been calling for limits on the power of bureaucracy and recognition of the alternative "New Forum."

A meeting opened in Alexanderplatz, and even now when these lines are being filed it is far from over. Writers and people involved in the arts, lawyers, workers, priests, and journalists are speaking. Heated and bitter words can be heard. The country is in the grip of crisis; the stagnation in the economy, politics, and spiritual life has dragged on. Tens of thousands of citizens have left the country. This stream of people flowing from East to West continues. The system which theoretically should have given people the broadest rights and freedoms deprived them of much, including the chance to express their opinion freely. This was said from the high platform, which was knocked together from planks, in the middle of the square. I admit that a month ago neither I nor any of my colleagues could have imagined even in our wildest dreams that the platform from which such bitter truth about life in the GDR would be expressed could appear so quickly. It was not easy for Guenter Schabowski, first secretary of the Berlin Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Bezirk [area] Committee, to speak—deafening whistling alternated with applause which, admittedly, was significantly fainter than the whistling. Serious mistakes have been made, but the party has embarked on decisive, radical changes which will affect all spheres of life in the country: This was the thrust of his speech. M. Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany, demanded the government's resignation. The speakers talked about the inadmissibility of the reemergence of the personality cult in the future, about creating social mechanisms which will ensure the people's participation in managing the state and curb the actions of the police, who exceeded their authority in dispersing the October demonstrations. The speakers demanded that honest, genuinely democratic elections be held. Speeches alternated with political songs. A song by Bulat Okudzhava in German has just ended...

It had been raining since morning, but by noon the sun had appeared—one of the speakers saw its appearance over Berlin as a symbol of hope. Yes, those who gathered in Alexanderplatz and those watching the live broadcast on GDR television are hoping and want to believe that the frank dialogue which has begun in society and the process of deep transformations will become irreversible. I shall note particularly that during the demonstration and the meeting I have not seen or heard any antisocialist calls. Germans in the GDR associate a better future with socialism.

And, finally, the last point. The order in which the largest demonstration in the GDR's history is being conducted is worthy of note. Almost no police can be seen. People are self-disciplined and filled with human dignity. They hope that today will go down in the country's history not darkened by any excesses.

The day before GDR television broadcast E. Krenz' appeal to all GDR citizens. In his speech he particularly said that the meeting with M.S. Gorbachev carries special weight and is particularly significant; it confirmed with renewed force that the GDR and the USSR are moving shoulder to shoulder. E. Krenz stated that the SED Central Committee Politburo has adopted a program of actions to renew politics, the economy, and society in the GDR. This program draft will be presented for examination by the SED Central Committee plenum opening 8 November.

GDR Editor on Making Socialism Attractive

PM0811085589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Nov 89 First Edition p 4

[Article by Ernst-Otto Schwabe, editor in chief of HORIZONT journal, under the "Foreign Journalist Speaks" rubric: "Making Socialism More Attractive"]

[Text] Berlin—People have always worked hard in the GDR. But since the Ninth Socialist Unity Party of

Germany [SED] Plenum in mid-October it is not only our work in production that has increased. The lights burn at many party and state committees and establishments in the evenings, even on weekends. Concepts are being elaborated on most varied questions—above all on the further development of the economy and democracy. They are needed by the impending 10th Central Committee plenum and for the subsequent stages leading up to the 12th SED Congress.

Journalists also have to do a fair amount of work in the course of this process—the appearance of most of our mass media has changed substantially in a few weeks. Nevertheless I reacted with delight to a request for me to set out some ideas in PRAVDA in connection with the 72d anniversary of Red October. Especially since the requisite close alliance between the GDR and the USSR, which had begun to slacken off somewhat in the recent past, was restored after the meeting between E. Krenz and M.S. Gorbachev.

Unfortunately, today attacks on the Great Socialist Revolution and denial of its historical role are no longer the monopoly of bourgeois politicians and publications. Overtly or in a veiled manner, the opinion is being voiced here and there (sometimes in other Soviet press organs) that it would have been better for Russia and the entire world if this revolution had not taken place. This opinion is too primitive to merit serious rebuttal. You can treat the "superpower" concept any way you like. But every schoolchild knows that the socialist Soviet Union, along with the United States, constitutes such a state.

Could the old Russia, the country of "peasants," have ever assumed such a role without Red October? Could world socialism have been conceivable without it? No, Red October has not lost and is not losing its place in world history.

The fact that the red fighters of the civil war, the comrades who gave their lives for the revolution's ideals or who became the victims of tyranny might be surprised now to see the relatively short distance socialism has covered since then, is another matter. I think that one of the greatest mistakes made by both practical specialists and theoreticians in socialist countries is that they all unanimously prescribed excessively short development phases for the new social system. This was also manifest, in particular, in the fact that communism was proclaimed the task of practical policy everywhere sooner or later.

Such errors, and the fact that over the years such incomplete use was made of many potential opportunities for creating a fundamentally new social system that we and all communists are encountering great difficulties, by no means deny the significance of the point of departure—October—but only attest to omissions and weaknesses in our work. Perestroyka in the USSR, the changes initiated in the GDR, and processes in certain other socialist countries ultimately have no other aim than to cleanse the red star of October of its patina and render socialism more attractive.

The GDR, which was set up as a result of the Soviet defeat of Hitlerite fascism, is one of the "children" of the October Revolution. But in comparison with the other "children" it has—unfortunately—a special feature which has so complicated its 40-year existence that this partially accounts for why the changes which are so necessary were begun so late on a by and large very successful path. I am referring to the FRG. This feature is not only reflected in the latter's daily attempts to render our path impassable or direct it elsewhere. It also has another historical dimension. This is the fact that for Poland and Hungary, for instance, their social system is not a condition of their existence. But things are not quite like that with the GDR. Without socialism, under the capitalist system, it would have rapidly become the FRG's 11th federal land.

Relations between the two German states are notable, so to speak, for the unity of their dialectical contradictions. On the one hand, the need for constructive business relations where possible is in both sides' interests and in the interests of Europe's peaceful development. But, on the other, there is an acute struggle between them, comparable with the struggle between Reds and Whites in the course of the civil war in Russia, but at any rate without firearms.

This struggle has grown increasingly worse of late in connection with the exodus of tens of thousands of GDR citizens to the FRG. If there is talk of "refugees" here, this is totally incorrect. International law has defined precisely who has refugee status—naturally not those people who leave their country in their own car for egoistical motives. The UN Commission for Refugees has correspondingly never gotten involved in this question. We must, of course, seek more profound reasons for this exodus, which is still going on, within our own country. Namely in the incorrect political and, undoubtedly, also economic decisions of the last few years. Nothing should be embellished or distorted here.

At the same time we cannot fail to see that certain political forces in the FRG have promoted this migration. Leaving aside the mass media campaign, which has reached the point of hysteria. The so-called "duty of guardianship," that is the claims to have the right to represent all Germans, and also the unique fact that FRG embassies in a number of countries were turned into sanctuaries for GDR citizens must be mentioned here above all.

Despite the GDR's fundamental readiness to continue the requisite political dialogue with the FRG, it will be hard to restrict the political damage that has been inflicted. The problem is also being exacerbated by the considerable material damage that the GDR has incurred and is still incurring owing to the exodus of its citizens. If you count expenditure on education and so on and the labor contribution which they would have been expected to make, it turns out that our country's long-term losses amount to approximately R40 billion. The FRG's national income will grow, correspondingly—without any effort on its part.

The GDR will, of course, cope with this grave ordeal. It is no secret that the border between the FRG and West Berlin, which was open until 13 August 1961, cost us approximately R60 billion at today's prices. But our country developed further all the same. However, the losses inflicted on the GDR since 1949 cannot be calculated in marks or rubles.

On such an important memorable day as 7 November we must realize the fundamental difference between socialism and capitalism, which resides in the fact that, notwithstanding all the difficulties, our social system has the opportunities and potential to overcome by combined efforts the obstacles that prevented us making socialism on German soil more attractive. We are beginning to speed up this process. We are united in this with our Soviet brothers in arms, to whom we send a cordial greeting from the GDR on the anniversary of Great October—our common holiday.

PRAVDA Text of GDR Leaders' Message of Thanks

PM0711105589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[GDR leaders' message thanking Soviet leaders for congratulations on the GDR's 40th anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet

To Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

Dear Comrades!

On behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR, we express cordial gratitude for the fraternal greetings and congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the GDR's formation.

The high assessment of the successes in building the first worker-peasant state on German soil arouses feelings of joy and pride in our country's citizens. Purposeful work on developing the socialist society in accordance with the policy of renewal and continuity and on enhancing the people's well-being and also the active promotion of the ensuring of peace and fruitful cooperation in international relations remain our primary duty.

We see the unbreakable combat alliance of our parties, states, and peoples as one of our most valuable gains. The participation of the Soviet delegation headed by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in the festivities marking the GDR's 40th anniversary and the talks that took place reaffirmed the desire of both sides to further strengthen our fraternal alliance on the firm foundation of what has been achieved and their interest in constantly improving multifaceted cooperation.

We wish you, dear comrades, and all working people of the Soviet Union new successes in implementing impressive plans for the good of the Soviet people, in the interests of strengthening socialism and peace.

[Signed] Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED and chairman of the GDR State Council
Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers

West Europe

France's Roland Dumas To Visit 13-14 Nov

LD0811144989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1436 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, 8 Nov (TASS)—At the invitation of the Soviet Government, Roland Dumas, minister of state and minister of foreign affairs of France, will make an official visit to the USSR on 13 and 14 November this year.

FRG Perceptions of GDR Developments Analyzed

PM0711152389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by V. Agayev: "'Fishermen' And Realists"]

[Text] Bonn—In the past two months there has been only one topic of conversation in the FRG: the GDR. Events are developing so rapidly and unpredictably there that the news is out of date as soon as it hits the newsstands. Moreover, until 18 October coverage of these events was more often than not of a hysterical nature. Radio and television correspondents were literally vying with one another to describe the situation of thousands of people congregating in special camps and West German embassies on the territory of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

But the day after the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee plenum the atmosphere in the FRG changed radically. The weekly DIE ZEIT, known for its critical and serious approach, wrote about the current situation in the GDR: "It was hard for Egon Krenz to begin. He had to make a drastic change. But he did not start badly. The first thing he did was throw himself into a debate with workers at enterprises. Politburo members and Bezirk Committee secretaries are conducting a dialogue on the streets and at large meetings. GDR television is showing these debates and even the meetings in the evangelical churches, where details of recent clashes between demonstrators and the police are being revealed. Moreover, GDR television is itself organizing debates which are keeping viewers on the edges of their seats, as only Hitchcock films have been able to do in the past. The newspapers too—as if the journalists were just waiting for the opportunity—are suddenly full of lively and exciting items. The fresh wind of glasnost is blowing across East Germany."

However, do not think that the FRG media have changed overnight. No, they are still writing about migrants, but the number of items of that nature has fallen sharply. There is more talk today about the problems of integration. Recently, an FRG television second channel poll showed that in connection with the increasing number of immigrants there is growing concern in the country about problems of employment and the shortage of housing and social conflicts are arising. There are already reports about some of the migrants intending to go back.

The tone and vocabulary of the political dialogue participants within the FRG changes by the hour. Unable to keep up with the changes, the FRG press is starting to give the GDR advice. Hundreds of recommendations, each more radical than the last. But the papers seem not to notice that it is all happening in the GDR already. There are plenty of sermons on cadre questions. It is specifically indicated which heads must "roll." The net is spread wide: from Politburo members to GDR television commentator Schnitzler, who for many years has been criticizing West German life and thereby provoking the wrath of many viewers, both in the West and in the East.

FRG Labor Minister Bluem warned the GDR leaders: "You must realize that you are standing on a brightly lit stage. The world public will no longer allow you to do want you want quietly, in the dark. We will not swallow fine words delivered in front of television cameras."

But here, too, life is moving more quickly. Recently the FRG was again riveted to its seat in front of the television in incredulity and amazement. It was a report from Berlin on a new rally and debate, during which the city's leaders discussed with thousands of Berliners questions concerning travel abroad and the abolition of leadership privileges, while the GDR capital's chief of police apologized for his colleagues actions' in breaking up a demonstration 2 weeks previously.

The scale and dynamics of events in the GDR are having an accelerating effect on relations between the two German states. Only a month ago it seemed that contacts between FRG and GDR party and state figures would remain severed for a long time, but in the very first week that Krenz was in office he was visited by Wolfgang Mischnick, leader of the Liberals in the Bundestag, who called his trip to Berlin a "reconnaissance mission," and only a few days later Egon Krenz was telephoned by FRG Chancellor Kohl.

During a businesslike and constructive 20-minute conversation they discussed, in particular, the possibility of Kohl's visiting the GDR in the near future and future contacts between the two countries' leaders. Kohl's special representative is to travel to Berlin in the latter half of November, bringing the chancellor's proposals on broad and multifaceted economic, technological, and financial cooperation between the two countries.

During the conversation between Krenz and Kohl, and also in the press it was noted that the GDR is prepared for the broadest economic and other talks, but on one condition: The FRG must acknowledge GDR citizenship. But this has not happened in the last 40 years. According to the 1949 Constitution, the FRG recognizes only one concept—"the German people"—and therefore is also the "protector" of Germans living in the GDR. Moreover, the Constitution stresses the temporary nature of the existing system.

A common argument in the FRG is that by leaving the GDR en masse its citizens are "voting with their feet" for the reunification of Germany. Doctor Hennig of the Ministry of Inner-German Relations, said in this connection: "Recently we have felt even more clearly, more completely, and more demonstrably that we are one German people. German unity will not begin on Day X, it is beginning today in our consciousness, in our hearts. But that is not enough. We must coordinate our efforts! The numerous small steps must now be followed by large ones. We want all Germans, like other peoples, to be under the same state roof." The magazine STERN wrote in this connection: "A specter is abroad in Europe. The specter of a united Germany." The magazine makes some calculations and reaches the conclusion that a united Germany would be the biggest and strongest country in Western Europe. A recent public opinion poll showed that only 11 percent of the FRG population is opposed to a united Germany. Although no one asks for the GDR's opinion.

The picture is varied and contradictory. As you might expect, there are many people in the FRG who like fishing in troubled waters. But the sensible voices, saying that there must be no interference in GDR internal affairs and no fueling of tension, are in the ascendancy. FRG President Weizsaecker said in this connection: "The peaceful development of Europe depends on the Germans and we are aware of this important responsibility."

Agenda for Gorbachev's Italy Visit Detailed

PM0711160189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In Anticipation of Important Talks"]

[Text] Rome, 6 Nov—The international significance of the upcoming visit to Italy by M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, is also accentuated by the fact that it will take place the day before his meeting with U.S. President G. Bush. This was pointed out by C. Martelli, deputy chairman of the Italian Council of Ministers.

In an interview with LA REPUBBLICA, he noted that questions such as the process of international detente and progress at the Geneva and Vienna talks will occupy an important place in the Soviet leader's talks with representatives of Italian Government and political circles. In addition, C. Martelli noted, emphasis will be placed on problems at the Vienna talks on conventional forces in Europe. In his opinion, the success of detente and its irreversibility will depend on their outcome. C. Martelli also stressed that during the Soviet-Italian summit talks a great deal of attention will be paid to questions of expanding mutually beneficial trade, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural collaboration between the Soviet Union and Italy.

Nikitin Arrives in Austria on Official Visit

LD0811122789 Moscow TASS in English 1211 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Vienna November 8 TASS—The first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Vladilen Nikitin, arrived on an official visit here today.

Nikitin, who heads the governmental commission for foodstuffs and purchases, will hold talks with Minister of Agriculture anf Forestry Franz Fischler, Minister of Economic Affairs Wolfgang Schuessel, President of the Federal Economic Chamber Rudolf Sallinger, and representatives of the business community.

He will also visit several industrial enterprises, firms and agricultural cooperatives.

At the Schwechat Airport, Nikitin was greeted by Fischler and other officials. The welcoming party included the Soviet ambassador to Austria, Gennadiy Shikin.

Soviet-Irish Cooperation Commission Meets

PM0711170789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Prospects for Cooperation"]

[Text] Dublin, 5 Nov—The latest session of the Soviet-Irish Intergovernmental Joint Commission on Economic, Industrial, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation has been held here. The Soviet delegation was headed by G.F. Rakhimbayev, USSR deputy minister of foreign economic relations; the Irish delegation was headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Dzh. Swift [initial as transliterated].

The sides reaffirmed their intention to continue their efforts to develop long-term and mutually advantageous relations and outlined a number of specific measures to implement the accords in the trade and economic sphere reached during the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and Irish Prime Minister C. Haughey at Shannon this April.

The session discussed the possibility of concluding a number of new agreements between the USSR and Ireland which will considerably expand and strengthen the treaty basis for the successful implementation of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the two countries. Mutual readiness was also expressed to support the development of new forms of economic ties. A joint protocol was signed on the basis of the results of the commission session. G.V. Uranov, USSR ambassador to Ireland, took part in the commission's work.

The head of the Soviet delegation was received by Irish Foreign Minister G. Collins. During the conversation the state of and prospects for bilateral relations in various spheres were discussed.

Nordic Parliamentarians on Nuclear-Free Zones

PM0811142589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[Own Correspondent Yu. Kuznetsov report: "For a Nuclear-Free Zone"]

[Text] Helsinki, 3 Nov—A session of the Nordic countries' interparliamentary commission working on questions of creating a zone free of nuclear weapons in this region has been held in the Danish capital, Copenhagen.

The commission members examined the situation now taking shape in this part of the continent and came to the conclusion that the conditions for creating a nuclear-free zone here have improved considerably.

The parliamentarians' commission also called on their respective governments to produce initatives regarding international talks on maritime disarmament. Special attention should be paid here to the danger connected with the presence of nuclear-armed submarines in the seas surrounding the Nordic countries.

The participants in the meeting received very favorably the initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev recently. They were viewed here as a manifestation of true "glasnost in a positive spirit."

Swedish Foreign Minister Arrives on Visit 8 Nov

LD0811132289 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 8 TASS—Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson arrives in the Soviet Union on an official visit today at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

Andersson was born on April 20, 1923, in Stockholm. He joined the Social Democratic working-class youth movement at an early age.

In 1966, Andersson was elected to Parliament. Between 1982 and 1985, he held the post of minister for social affairs in a Social Democratic government. In October 1985, he was appointed foreign minister.

Hope is expressed in the Soviet Union that Andersson's visit will help further strengthen relations between this country and Sweden.

Soviets Pleased With Turkish-Bulgarian Talks

TA0711180089 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1630 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Ankara (A.A)—The Soviet Union is pleased with the commencement of the Turco-Bulgarian talks to find a solution to the problems of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, the Soviet ambassador in Ankara said on Tuesday.

Turkey and Bulgaria, which last week had their first high level talks in Kuwait since more than 300,000 Bulgarian Turks from Bulgaria fled to Turkey last summer, announced that they would continue ministerial-level negotiations in another meeting to be held again in Kuwait in November.

Albert Chernyshev told reporters that the face-to-face meeting of Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz and Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister Georgi Yordanov in Kuwait was a very positive development initiating a process of solution.

Chernyshev said he believed that the Soviet efforts to mediate between Turkey and Bulgaria had also contributed to this development.

Chernyshev has made shuttle visits to Moscow and Sofia in recent months to contact senior Soviet and Bulgarian officials on the issue.

Around 310,000 Bulgarian Turks streamed across the border to Turkey from June to August to escape a forced assimilation campaign, including a ban on Turkish names, the speaking of Turkish and Islamic observances.

Turkey wants to secure property and other rights for Turks who left Bulgaria, regulate the flow of new refugees and protect the rights of those who stayed behind.

No official date has yet been set for this month's talks in Kuwait.

Supreme Soviet Session

Further on Debate on 'Rule of Law State'

PM0711152789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Nov 89 Moscow Evening Edition pp 1, 2

[IZVESTIYA parliamentary correspondents V. Dolganov and V. Kurasov report under the rubric "At the Second Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet": "Step Toward Rule-of-Law State"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] ...Let us return to the events of the 1 November morning and evening plenary sittings. We have already announced that on the instructions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, delivered a report on the draft Standing Orders of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and other draft laws determining the activity of our elected representatives.

We are talking about a package of organically interconnected acts designed to ensure the effective working of the Congress, the Supreme Soviet, and every USSR people's deputy, he said. Extremely intensive work lies ahead. It is complicated by the fact that new norms for our overall activity are having to be elaborated almost on the move, inasmuch as practical work in all structures of the country's new supreme organ of power is developing daily. Our task is to enshrine all the best elements of this practical work and at the same time provide scope for further improvements in the work of deputies within the chambers' committees and commissions and the Congress and Supreme Soviet as a whole.

Recalling Lenin's well-known remark that legislation demands extreme care, the speaker stressed the importance of procedural questions. He also particularly singled out the Law on the Status of People's Deputies. This is understandable, since it is the deputy who must be the central figure in a soviet of any level and within the system of representative democracy as a whole. Considerably greater demands are made of the deputies' corps in the conditions of perestroyka, reform of the political system, and revival of full power by soviets.

R.N. Nishanov pointed out that during the preparation of the new draft laws consideration was given to our new parliament's accumulated experience, along with a great many useful elements from world legislative practice. Characterizing the features of the documents under examination, he laid the main stress on the most critical provisions which provoked many heated arguments at the Congress of People's Deputies and at the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. In particular, he discussed the secret ballot procedure, other important procedural questions, the principles of the formation and accountability of various central bodies, including the country's government, and the Supreme Soviet's monitoring powers and foreign policy activity.

The package of documents put forward for consideration, the speaker said, was distributed to people's deputies during the first session of our parliament; they have had time to study it thoroughly and submit proposals and addenda. More than 60 deputies have conveyed their comments to the Supreme Soviet's Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order Committee.

Touching on the question of voters' instructions to USSR people's deputies, the chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities stressed that, as a rule, only those instructions relating to the competence of union ministries, departments, and organizations should be accepted for execution.

Then R.N. Nishanov answered numerous questions from deputies, explaining in conclusion that the proposed legal acts will undergo further finishing work in the committees and commissions and that there is still an opportunity to improve and refine them.

People's Deputy K.D. Lubenchenko spoke on behalf of the Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order Committee. He said that these documents, which have been created by qualified state law specialists, are the basis for further work and that they still have to undergo further examination in all committees and commissions. Having noted the positive aspects of the draft laws, the deputy made a series of serious critical remarks not only about the draft laws themselves but also about the Soviet parliament's prevailing work practice.

Thus, in his opinion, the Supreme Soviet is functioning virtually as a single chamber parliament. Much more could be done if it were to switch to a genuine two-chamber activity and split its work along the lines of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. We are distracted by a mass of questions which at times do not fall directly within the competence of both chambers. There is also a need to amplify the role of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, the Council of Elders, and the committees and commissions in the new conditions. There is another serious problem—the problem of deputies who arrive here, register, but neither vote nor express their opinion on the most important questions. How do we explain to voters the discrepancy between the number of those present and the number of those voting?

After a short recess, N.D. Pivovarov, chairman of the Soviet of People's Deputies and Management and Self-Management Development Committee, was given the floor. Speaking about the difficult birth of the drafts under discussion, he said, inter alia: One draft law alone on voters' instructions to USSR people's deputies went through nine versions in the committee stage.

But what should be done about, for example, the sum total of voters' mandates? Say that 7-9 candidates stand in a given okrug. Just one is elected deputy. But each one of them had received voters' mandates...

The committee also argued about the annual rotation of the Supreme Soviet's composition. Our country has had no relevant experience, and the experience abroad is not suitable for us in every respect.

As we can see, there were quite a few complications. Nonetheless, the deputies expressed the opinion that the extent to which the documents have been prepared makes it possible to accept them on first reading. It was decided not to debate them and to pass the draft laws for further work by committees and commissions. But some people's deputies wanted to briefly state their principled opinions on the legal acts under examination. They were given an opportunity to do so.

The Soviet of Nationalities Standing Orders must differ from the Soviet of the Union Standing Orders, otherwise the separation of the Supreme Soviet into two chambers will be merely arbitrary, Deputy R.V. Gudaytis said. He was opposed to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies ratifying the composition of the Supreme Soviet inasmuch as representatives of one republic cannot be aware of the professional and human qualities of other regions' emissaries.

People's Deputy Yu.N. Shcherbak believes that the draft laws duplicate one another in many respects, so it is sufficient to adopt only two of them—those on status and standing orders. He proposed that an article along the following lines be introduced into the latter: Deputies who do not regularly attend sittings should be liable to rotation in advance of all others.

People's Deputies T.N. Dudkov, A.Ye. Sebentsov, A.A. Likhanov, V.I. Matviyenko, N.N. Koryugin, and others also voiced their proposals.

The question of approving the package of draft laws at the first reading was put to the vote: 390 deputies voted "for," 8 voted "against," and there were 6 abstentions. The committees and commissions have been given 2 weeks to put the finishing touches to them.

Ye.A. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, was given the floor twice—at the 1 November morning and evening sittings, presenting the deputies first with the Draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on the Judicial System and then with the draft Law on the Procedure of Appeal to the Courts Against Unlawful Actions by State Management Organs and Officials in Breach of Citizens' Rights. The adoption of these laws will be a further step toward creating a genuine rule-of-law state, the speaker and many deputies pointed out. Although it is true that the participants in the discussion did not agree on everything with the authors of the drafts and with the observations already introduced by the Supreme Soviet Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order Committee.

Deputies A.V. Oborin and V.I. Semenko upheld the joint viewpoint held by this committee and the USSR Supreme Court, which had submitted the draft laws for consideration. People's Deputies I.B. Shamshev, N.I. Ignatovich, Yu.K. Sharipov, F.M. Burlatskiy, A.M. Yakovlev, V.M. Minin, A.A. Denisov, B.I. Oleynik, and many others spoke in fairly stringent opposition. The following suggestions were made, among others: Judges to be elected by direct vote; family, patent, and other specialized courts to be set up; trial by jury to be introduced; lists No 1 and No 2, which deprive many citizens of the right to legal defense, to be abolished; the job of compiling judicial statistics to be handed over to the USSR State Committee for Statistics; there should be provision for legal liability in respect of unlawful actions by public organizations.

Which proposals will be adopted? Which will be rejected? We will obviously receive the answer to these questions soon. Both draft laws were adopted at the first reading. We will find out about the final version of the Draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on the Judicial System before this session ends, and will learn about the draft Law on the Procedure of Appeal to the Courts Against Unlawful Actions by State Management Organs and Officials in Breach of Citizens' Rights at the next plenary sitting.

2 Nov Supreme Soviet Proceedings Reported

PM0711151989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

[N. Musiyenko, G. Ovcharenko, S. Pastukhov, and Ye. Sorokin report under the rubric "PRAVDA Parliamentary Group Reports From Kremlin": "Without Great Debate"]

[Excerpts] Without worrying about being accused of producing boilerplate, we will start today's Kremlin report with the first words from the previous day's report: "The USSR Supreme Soviet Hall of Sessions did not seem packed yesterday..." M.S. Gorbachev, chairing a joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, announced, after glancing at the electronic display, that 395 Supreme Soviet members had registered. This is 20 people fewer than the day before yesterday, when the absence of even 127 Supreme Soviet members seemed to us to be critical, although it did not stop the sitting from being in a position to resolve the questions raised for discussion.

Yes, we repeat that many Supreme Soviet members are pretty tired or physically exhausted. However, it is not simply a question of many of them lacking the necessary training for marathon sittings. Some Supreme Soviet members have clearly not grown out of the student habit of skipping lectures which they find uninteresting.

Yet the first question on yesterday's agenda was extremely important and highly topical—the draft Law on Pension Provision for Citizens in the USSR was submitted for examination. A report on it was delivered by N.I. Ryzhkov, the country's head of government. And we should note straightaway that the "lecture" by the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers attracted enormous attention from those present and ended in applause, which is now so rarely heard under the vaults of the Kremlin.

Why did the report produce such a reception? It is being published, therefore we will not regurgitate it. Let us just say that it is planned to bring the law into effect as of 1991... [passage omitted]

Judging by the deputies' mood it seemed to us that the discussion of the draft could be delayed again. However, after a short but constructive debate the USSR Supreme Soviet resolved to approve the draft Law on Pension Provision for Citizens in the USSR on its first reading and, following 2 days of further work on it to take account of the the comments and proposals made by the parliamentarians, to publish it in the press for nationwide discussion.

M.S. Gorbachev in the chair then reported that agrarian deputies had made an appeal to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. They had proposed clarifying the formulation of the amendment to the state plan for the country's economic and social development in 1990 and recasting it as follows:

Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and kray and oblast executive committees shall be instructed to use 10 percent of the state centralized capital investments allocated to industrial enterprises and construction organizations for production construction along with associated material resources and contract work quotas for the purposes of developing the agroindustrial complex.

This proposal was adopted by a majority vote.

After a recess the chairman's place at the morning session was taken by A.I. Lukyanov. He recalled that the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order was instructed Wednesday along with the USSR Supreme Court to carry out further work taking account of deputies' remarks on the USSR Draft Law on the Procedure for Lodging Judicial Appeals Against Illegal Actions By Organs of State Administration and Officials Infringing Citizens' Rights. This instruction has been carried out. The deputies have adopted the law, which will come into effect as of 1 July 1990.

The floor passed to Ye. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, who presented the parliamentarians with a draft law on liability for contempt of court, along with a package of draft bills elaborated on the instructions of the USSR Supreme Soviet in connection with the entry into force of the USSR Law "On the Status of Judges in the USSR." It includes USSR Supreme Soviet draft resolutions on the oath to be taken by judges and people's assessors of Soviet courts, on the ratification of the statute on the certification of judges' qualifications, on the ratification of the statute on collegiums to determine the qualifications [kvalifikatsionnyye kollegii] of judges in Soviet courts, on the ratification of the statute on the disciplinary responsibility of judges and the dismissal and early release of judges and people's assessors of the Soviet courts, and on the establishment of classes of qualifications [kvalifikatsionnyye klassy] for USSR and union republic judges. After a short discussion the deputies adopted these highly important documents by a majority vote.

The USSR Supreme Soviet then heard a report from the commission to verify material connected with the activities of the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigation group headed by T. Gdlyan. Bearing in mind that this commission was set up by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and should report only to it, the parliamentarians, at A.I. Lukyanov's suggestion, placed on record the report from Commission Cochairmen R. Medvedev and N. Strukov. The attention of all interested parties as well as the mass media was drawn to the impermissibility of any kind of pressure being exerted on the commission.

Well, in the opinion of many deputies—and it is an opinion which we share—the last day of the session before the recess was fruitful. A.I. Lukyanov announced that the next plenary sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers will begin 13 November.

Supreme Soviet Resolution on Draft Pension Law

PM0811094789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 1

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Draft Law on Pension Provision for Citizens in the USSR"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet **resolves**:

1. To give a first reading to and approve the basic provisions of the draft Law on Pension Provision for Citizens in the USSR.

2. To publish the draft law in the press for nationwide discussion.

3. To instruct the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions, the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Affairs of Veterans and Invalids, the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Affairs of Women and of Family, Mother, and Child Protection, and the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order together with the USSR Council of Ministers and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and committees and standing commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers to elaborate the aforementioned draft in the light of suggestions and remarks made by USSR People's Deputies and received during the nationwide discussion and to submit them for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet. [signed] M. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
The Kremlin, Moscow, 2 November 1989

Week's Parliamentary Debates Viewed

PM0711160989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own parliamentary correspondent V. Dolganov report: "Time of Responsible Decisions. Notes from the Plenary Sittings of the Second Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Probably never before during the proceedings of our new parliament had sittings finished as early as they did on 2 November. On that day only one sitting took place, the morning sitting. Nonetheless, (and this was very noticeable) the deputies came out of the Kremlin looking tired. This was due to the fact that for the first time during the present session the Supreme Soviet discussed draft laws for 4 days in succession and at the same time work continued in committees and commissions which met after the main sittings and sat late into the night "finalizing" the documents. There were also the effects of the tremendous responsibility shouldered during those days: Legal enactments of key importance for the country were discussed and adopted, including the Supreme Soviet resolution on the State Plan for Economic and Social Development of the USSR and the Law on the country's State Budget for 1990. We must not forget either that quite a number of other draft laws which brook no delay were also discussed during that week.

Undoubtedly we have all followed the current proceedings of our parliament, agreeing with some speakers and arguing with others in our minds.

It is true that not everything went smoothly during the current session. But should we regret this? Whether we wanted it or not, we, the group of journalists accredited at the session representing various newspapers have been recalling last year and the last session of an entirely different supreme organ of power. It is possible perhaps to compare the former complacent atmosphere which reigned in the standing bodies of that Supreme Soviet with the heated debates extending past midnight in the committees and commissions of our present parliament? Or at the plenary sessions themselves at which deputies critically examined every provision, every paragraph of the draft laws? Were these sittings not something completely new for us? Even the most critical observer would not be able, I believe, to find anything in common between the former "unanimous" Supreme Soviet and the current Supreme Soviet which thinks, argues, and takes nothing for granted.

However, let us return to the chambers' hall of sessions and the events of 2 November.

...After a brief break A.I. Lukyanov, taking M.S. Gorbachev's place as chairman, proposed to the session participants that they discuss, as envisaged by the previous plenary sitting, the draft Law on the Procedure for Appealing to the Courts Against Unlawful Actions by Officials Infringing Citizens' Rights. It was finalized by the Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order in cooperation with the USSR Supreme Court. Less than a day was allowed for this work.

However, judging by the report of People's Deputy A.M. Yakovlev who spoke on behalf of the Committee, even in this short time it proved possible to interpret and introduce in the draft all the substantial proposals of the session participants submitted 1 November. The draft law was adopted after a short debate. A dispute arose only in respect of the date on which it is to come into force. Some people's deputies agreed with the authors of the draft that the law should come into force on 1 July 1990. Others took the view that the law should start functioning as from the beginning of the coming year. But will the courts have time enough to prepare for work based on the new principles? Will they not drown in a flood of appeals from people whose rights have been infringed by unlawful actions on the part of officials of various levels?

People's deputies were forced to give some serious thought to these questions. The viewpoint of the authors of the draft law prevailed. The law was passed by the Supreme Soviet session. However, this does not mean that work connected with this law has come to an end. In the resolution on the promulgation of this law our parliament instructs the USSR Council of Ministers, the Commission on Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy of the Soviet of the Union, and the Committee on Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order to elaborate and submit for discussion by the next USSR Supreme Soviet session proposals on changing the legislation on the procedure of the examination of labor disputes and disciplinary liability with respect to subordinates with a view to substantially expanding the legal protection of citizens' labor rights and also proposals on the procedure for upholding citizens' rights against infringement by social organization organs...

I cite the formulation verbatim. It reflects the subject of the dispute at the previous plenary sitting on 1 November: Should or should not social organizations be included on the list of bodies subject to jurisdiction in the event of violation of citizens' rights by their organs. As you can see, the wishes of many deputies are reflected in the final document.

Just as during the previous plenary sitting, Ye.A. Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, took the floor twice. On the first occasion he expounded the draft Law on liability for contempt of court and submitted it to the session for discussion, and on the second occasion he presented a whole package of resolutions, five in all—on swearing in the judge and people's assessor at USSR people's courts; on approving the statute on certifying judges' qualifications; on approving the statute on qualification-assessment collegiums of USSR court judges; on approving the statute on the disciplinary liability of judges and the recall and preterm release of USSR court judges and people's assessors; on the establishment of qualification categories for USSR and union republic judges.

Both the draft law on liability for contempt of court and the package of resolutions which further develop and complement the Law on the status of judges which was adopted earlier, were passed by a majority of votes.

Subsequently, in accordance with the agenda, the session heard a report by the commission set up by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies to check out materials connected with the activities of the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigation group headed by People's Deputy T.Kh. Gdlyan, which had been postponed several times. R.A. Medvedev, one of the commission's cochairmen, gave an account of his comrades' work, which has been going on for 5 months now, and of the difficulties arising in this work (for instance, the question of finance has not been resolved, which makes it impossible to draw on skilled experts). Another, People's Deputy N.A. Strukov, read out a commission statement which notes: The commission's status and its rights have essentially still not been defined; the mass media cover the work of the commission one-sidedly; USSR Prosecutor's Office staff, including its leadership, do not always implement the decisions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and of the commission.

In conclusion A.I. Lukyanov read out written questions from people's deputies including a question from a group of deputies in connection with the unfounded detention by militia staff of two special IZVESTIYA photocorrespondents (this incident was reported in the newspaper's No 305 issue). The question was passed on to V.V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs.

With that the plenary sitting was declared closed. Deputies will meet for the next joint sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers 13 November.

On the results of the past week: The standard of the elaboration of draft laws in the committees and commissions of the Soviet parliament has unquestionably risen: During the 4 days there were virtually no fundamental objections to the documents under discussion. Basically deputies criticized details of one kind or another, which evoked the following ironic comment from one of the representatives of a committee which was finalizing a draft: The best has always been the enemy of the good. However, it is a good thing that no outspokenly "raw" drafts are now being submitted for discusison. Furthermore, a lively exchange of ideas, opinions, and proposals is under way which contributes to the clarification of articles and provisions of the future laws.

The main documents—the plan and budget—have been adopted. It now no longer depends on the lawmakers but on all of us how successfully they are implemented. Let us merely note that the country's leading economists have expressed the opinion that optimum solutions have been found which will make it possible, in the event of the precise fulfillment of the plan and budget, to provide reliable groundwork for the 13th 5-Year Plan.

All the legal acts which relate to the activities of the courts unquestionably represent a step forward along the road of creating a rule-of-law state. They apply to millions of people. Just like the Law on USSR citizens' pension provision which affects the interests of 60 million of our compatriots. The Soviet parliament is becoming more experienced and is operating in a more concentrated and businesslike fashion.

...The parliament has gone into recess, but not for very long. Ahead lies an enormous amount of work in the adoption of the draft laws featuring on the session's agenda, a time of intensive debates in the Supreme Soviet.

Committee Chairman Interviewed on Land Law

PM0711165989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Nov 89 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[Interview with A.F. Veprev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Agrarian Questions and Food, by V. Lyashenko: "Source of All Blessings"—no place or date of interview given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Lyashenko] We have already informed our readers that on 26 October, following months-long debates, thorough working up, and comprehensive examination of alternative options, deputies finally arrived at—to use today's parlance—a consensus, an agreement, and are ready to submit what is now the final version of the Law on Land and Land Use for discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet. We also know that this work proceeded with great difficulty, that the question of forms of land ownership provided the stumbling block for a long time...

[Veprev] Well, maybe this is how matters appeared on the surface. Indeed, there were frequent clashes of opinions, as the saying goes. But are we not altogether dramatizing the question of ownership and its forms? What is the origin of these frequently diametrically opposed views? Some people suggest that state farms [sovkhozes] and collective farms [kolkhozes] be immediately disbanded and the land transferred (also immediately) into private ownership. Others suggest that leasing and the cooperative system be applied everywhere (immediately). Yet others suggest that loss-making farms go under the hammer (immediately)...

Is this turmoil beneficial to the cause? We are firmly accustomed to ideologizing and politicizing all issues. Hold on, don't be in a hurry to accuse me of lacking a class sense; I am, just like you, firmly against the exploitation of man by man... I also realize that it is impermissible to, for example, resell or mortgage land. But is this question the main and fundamental one facing us and the Soviet peasantry today? In my view, the issue today revolves not around ownership as such, not around who owns what and how, but around the disgracefully poor use being made of what is available, the proper way to use it, and the returns yielded by different forms of ownership. As applied to the agrarian sector, this means that the good form of ownership is the one whereby land and all the rest is put to the best possible use. After all, the horse must come before the cart, rather than the other way around.

[Lyashenko] So, how, after all, has the draft arrived at a solution to the question of ownership?

[Veprev] It has been resolved the way I have described it. It is necessary to try and test in action everything that has been worked out along this avenue so far. Let family farms, individual peasants' farms, agricultural cooperatives, kolkhozes, and sovkhozes compete for high profitability and returns... They all must be given the broadest possible scope for development, ensuring total equality between them. I am categorically against it when people start setting one in opposition to another, like family farms against kolkhozes. If a family farmer is successful—thank God. If a kolkhoz is doing well—so much the better! But sticking to just family farms or declaring that kolkhozes alone are capable of feeding the country means, in my view, committing a major economic and political error.

All this has been enshrined in the new draft law. It clearly states that the land must be an asset of the people, in other words it must be owned by the people. Let me emphasize this: Not union-republic ownership, as it was envisaged for example in the government's version of the law, but actually ownership by the people. This is the formulation that was adopted after lengthy debates.

In its own turn, this ownership by the people materializes along three basic avenues: Individual-labor ownership (a peasant's farm, for example), collective ownership (kolkhozes and sovkhozes), and state ownership (nature reserves, the working of mineral deposits of state importance, expropriation of land used to lay railroad tracks, and so on)... I consider that this draft's fundamental aspect lies in the fact that in all three cases the transfer of land occurs not in use but in ownership. Give some proper thought to this provision and you will realize that this not just a word game, this is the root of the most important element of land reform—"Land—to the Peasants."

[Lyashenko] I'm not trying to flatter you, Arkadiy Filimonovich, but you do belong to the pleiad of talented leaders—not very strong numerically, unfortunately—who have proved by deeds that, given skilled economic management, both kolkhozes and sovkhozes can be profitable and even superprofitable enterprises. Peasants' farms, family farms—there is a nice sound to this, but there is an equally loud and vocal opinion that kolkhozes have by no means exhausted their opportunities and they simply have not been given a chance to develop. In your capacity as chief executive and director of the famous "Nazarovskiy" Sovkhoz, you probably also support this point of view?

[Veprev] No, this is not quite so. Or rather, not at all so. But let's figure out what we mean by a sound kolkhoz today. To start with, you are right: There are not that many of them around the country. Second, some are considered to be solid only when compared against those that are really "on their knees." But the main point—and let's admit this frankly—is that they are unfortunately not a consequence, not a natural development, but some kind of aberration existing, so to say, not "thanks to" but "despite" [the system]. They became successful at the expense of their leaders' ulcers. It goes without saying that these enthusiasts deserve all the honor and glory, these totally honest people who are knowledgeable and have the economic management acumen, and are, moreover, managing on just 3-4 hours' sleep a day...

My "Nazarovskiy" is no exception in this regard. If only you knew the cost of this exhausting struggle for the right to work autonomously, the number of excellent people and talented organizers who were consumed by the bureaucratic edict system! There I am as well, with more than my fair share of reprimands. But I've been lucky—I stood firm, I coped with it all. Others were forced to drop out of the race. Of course, life is easier now, times are different, but recurrences of old attitudes are tenacious of life.

Believe me, I have nothing against kolkhozes, especially sound and solid kolkhozes. But—let's ask ourselves again—solid as compared with what? How do we know that they have not already reached a certain ceiling in the conditions of prevailing economic relations? Are they capable of yet another leap forward?

How do you calculate this, what system and what computer do you use? No such system, no such computer exists. The only thing we have is the practice of life. Let's heed life. Let's try, let's seek, let's compare. Let there be a multitude of forms. To put it briefly, let's not make a fetish out of forms of ownership.

[Lyashenko] Maybe the kolkhoz and sovkhoz economic mechanism, whose shortcomings are becoming apparent today, will manage to gather the necessary pace if their essence and structure were changed, if they were to become, for example, associations of grassroot cooperatives and lease collectives?

[Veprev] Maybe, maybe... God willing, as the saying goes. I personally have no intention of forecasting the path that the future development of kolkhozes and sovkhozes might take. I only know that there will be no development at all unless the kolkhoz member's labor takes on the form of free labor on kolkhoz land actually belonging to him, unless the kolkhoz member and any other person tilling the land gains the status of owner. Cooperatives? Let there be cooperatives. As a matter of fact, we have not invented anything new here, all agriculture in the world has been cooperative for ages and ages...

I must admit that I have little faith in development through internal kolkhoz leasing. What we call leasing today, and what we introduce as leasing, is 90 percent sham. Is such leasing likely to restore the land to its owner? Terms like "Semi-Leasing," "Leasing Mark I," and "Leasing Mark II" are in circulation... I don't know what it actually means but, in my view, this is what happens when people are unwilling to make a genuine master out of the peasant and are only forcing him to work his guts out with the former master—the administrator—as boss. This kind of leasing, no matter how it might be embellished, will never relieve the lessee from his supervisor because the lessor actually is his supervisor. Even the most democratic leasing conditions retain an antagonism between lessor and lessee, assigning a subordinate role to the lessee.

It seems to me that, by recognizing the need for equal development by all types of economic management, the new Law on Land will not only de facto but also de jure, as the saying goes, liberate the lessee, family farmer, and any peasant from such degrading dependence. This is precisely why administrators are unlikely to accept the multiplicity of forms. After all, today they are rigidly imposing their own conditions on lessees. For example, they enforce prices which literally strip the clothes off lessees' backs. But the farms' administrative apparatus, producing nothing, being responsible for nothing, and doing nothing but collecting lease payments, can lead a comfortable life. The Law on Land must firmly put an end to all this.

[Lyashenko] By legalizing individual ownership of land and especially by introducing the term "possession of land" which, in my view, is very close to the term "private property," are we not leaving certain loopholes for uncontrollable wheeling and dealing (individual transmission of land on lease or on mortgage, unmonitorable use of hired labor)? And something else: How, in what form will this, say, right to individual labor on individual land be exercised? Suppose, for example, I decide to withdraw from a kolkhoz...

[Veprev] And good luck to you. Under the new law, nobody has the right to prevent you from doing so. As a matter of fact, in my opinion, there will be very few such bold persons to start with—our peasants seem to have well and truly forgotten how to work on their own, they find it painful and frightening to cut the umbilical cord. Fine, if you find it painful and frightening, if the current situation suits you, if the kolkhoz is sound, and if you are accustomed to working together in a team—you don't have to withdraw, nobody will force you to.

But if you've made up your mind... The draft law clearly states that the main link [in the chain of authority] which will be able to grant land ownership, in other words possession of land by those who are using it (kolkhoz, sovkhoz, or a peasant's farm), will be the local soviet. It is up to the local rather than the oblast or rayon soviet, the local soviet and its deputies, to decide on the basis of that selfsame law whether you would manage to be an intelligent steward of the land, whether you possess the requisite knowledge and habits, whether you would respect the state interests and the interests of the consumers of agrarian products... To put it briefly, whether you are likely to abuse this right of yours to have land in your individual possession.

Of course, the next question would be: What the hell—if you'd pardon the expression—will the individual family farmer, who has withdrawn from the kolkhoz, use to run his farm? Economists speak of it as initial capital, without which any serious undertaking is doomed to failure. The current opinion that every peasant today has five savings accounts on top of what has been stuffed in the mattress, is nothing but a myth. Apply for credit? But no bank will give an interest-free loan, and is it right to start off in debt?

It is clear that, as soon a peasant or a peasant's family decide to take on family farming, they must be given not only a plot of land but also everything necessary to run that farm. How much should they be given? Probably as much as would ensure that others have no grounds for bearing a grudge, in other words an amount in proportion to the total number of peasants (kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers) working on this land.

[Lyashenko] Just like that, as a gift?

[Veprev] The forms of land transmission and the conditions governing this transmission could be most diverse, it is useless to try and apply uniformity. You have one set of conditions in the Kuban or the Northern Caucasus, for example, where every square foot of land is worth its weight in gold. Completely different conditions prevail in the Non-Chernozem Zone, or my Siberia for example. There you have endless tracts of abandoned land. Take over as much as you like—cultivate it, run your farm. In a nutshell, it is up to local soviets (at republic, kray, oblast, and rayon level) to decide, in every specific case, how much should be given to whom, how, and on what terms... The law gives them complete freedom in this regard. The soviets are the masters of the land.

The paramount point is to ensure really equal conditions for competition between all forms of economic management and all forms of ownership without infringing the interests of some and mollycoddling others. The new law will juridically define the family commodity producer's right to own equipment, buildings, livestock. How can it be right when lessees and cooperative members today have to buy equipment at three and even five times the price? It will also be naive to imagine that Soviet family farmers would agree to live in conditions which would be worse than those enjoyed now by kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers...

As a matter of fact, all peasants are fairly equally treated in this regard. We'll adopt the law, but peasants need more than just land. Tell me, for example, why should a kolkhoz be forced to pay R50,000 for a grain harvesting combine which only works for 2-3 weeks a year, and yet it is paid only 5 kopecks per kilogram of sugar beet whose cultivation requires hard manual labor all summer long?

[Lyashenko] Do you mean the disruption of parity between cities and the countryside?

[Veprev] What parity are you talking about... The countryside is lagging behind the cities in every respect, and somehow there is no sign of anyone being in any great hurry to help it. For example, the availability of a piped water supply in rural areas is 2.1 times less than in cities, the availability of main drainage is 2.7 times less... We read in the papers that West Berlin's residents have received a gift—they are burning Soviet gas in their homes. And the peasant has no way of spending his money to tap some gas from the main pipeline running across his own land to that selfsame West Berlin, or buying some pipes for his main water supply or central heating system...

But we seem to have digressed from the topic. Let's get back to the land.

[Lyashenko] How did work on the draft law progress?

[Veprev] With great difficulty and slowly. We started back at the previous session, and have held sittings in all imaginable forms since then. It can be said that a really broad and sufficiently representative debate developed around this question. Also, we most thoroughly worked our way through the entire mass of suggestions received from outside, as it were.

The draft developed as a result of heated arguments and sharp clashes of opinions. Ultimately, preference was given—although not unconditionally—to the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences' text. Now let's wait and see what the USSR Supreme Soviet will have to say. It is my profoundly held belief that if the ideas underlying the law "get through," so to say, this would pave the way to a very serious land reform, to genuine reunification of man and land, to complete materialization of the revolution's slogan: "Land—to the Peasants!"

[Lyashenko] And one last question, Arkadiy Filimonovich: Do you miss your "Nazarovskiy" Sovkhoz, your former work?

[Veprev] I do, and how. "Nazarovskiy" has already brought in the harvest, the livestock is wintering, it is the time for weddings... You know, we did away with security guards on our "Nazarovskiy" way back in 1966—there is nothing to guard against, there is no theft. If only I could live long enough to see this situation prevailing all over the country...

Political & Social

Further on Great October Socialist Revolution

Gorbachev Speaks at Reception

PM0711213789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 89 First Edition pp 1, 4

[Article entitled: "Holiday Reception in the Kremlin," speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at a Kremlin reception 7 November]

[Text] On the occasion of the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers gave a reception at the Kremlin Palace of congresses today. The reception was attended by Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Kryuchkov, Ligachev, Medvedev, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Primakov, Pugo, Razumovskiy, Yazov, Baklanov, Girenko, Manayenkov, Stroyev and Usmanov.

Also present were members and alternate members of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, USSR people's deputies, the heads of ministries and departments, representatives of party, soviet and public organizations, party veterans, participants in the Great October Socialist Revolution, advanced industrial and agricultural workers, prominent scientists, cultural figures, military leaders, participants in the military parade on the Red Square.

There were many foreign guests who had arrived in the Soviet Union for the celebrations, the heads of foreign diplomatic missions accredited in Moscow, clergymen, Soviet and foreign journalists.

General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev made a speech at the reception. He said:

Dear comrades, friends ladies and gentlemen:

The October days of 1917 which gave birth to a new world are becoming the event of a more distant past. Each anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution is a unique moment of truth when we compare our deeds with revolutionary ideals and reflect again and again not only on the past but also the future.

We are very proud of the achievements made by our people under the banner of the October Revolution. This day, we pay tribute of profound respect to all generations of the Soviet people for their deeds and feats.

But this pride does not prevent us from seeing that not all had been done as it was thought by Lenin and other Bolsheviks. But, we know the duty of the current generations. We are living and working at the turning point. Perestroyka initiated by the CPSU opened up great opportunities for creative work of every citizen and the nation on the whole.

The country's future depends on our future deeds.

Revolutionary perestroyka and growing socialist activity are the sources of our historical optimism today and our belief in the realisation of the country's large-scale renovation plans.

The economic reform is advancing, with difficulty but steadily. We are laying down the legal foundation for the rule-of-law state. The platform to harmonize inter-ethnic relations has been worked out. The process of democracy and glasnost is working for socialism ever more fruitfully.

We need to overcome the current critical period without yielding to perplexity and by working hard and with firm purpose. To be faithful to the lessons of the October Revolution and Lenin's behests is to face the truth and see the reality as it is and what's most improtant—to act realistically and constructively.

The growing popular understanding of the need to step up efforts to implement the ideas of perestroyka is the most important characteristic feature of our time.

The support of the people is important both in the internal and foreign affairs. And, probably, it is only at the turn of the millennium that we are coming to understand the root meaning of the notion "international politics"—that these are relations not only between governments but between peoples. And the events here are taking place as Lenin predicted.

The general spirit of people around the world is being characterised by the growing feeling of the integrity of the common human fate and understanding that the world is single and interrelated.

Of course, people have always had this feeling which goes from the nature of man created since time immemorial for communication, cooperation and friendship.

But, the human history has accumulated too much ill-will and evil. How long will it take to make the new stage in the history of people really peaceful? This depends on all of us, our joint efforts and our determination to exclude force as an instrument of policy forever and make law and respect for each other the norm and rule of international life. I think that those present will agree with me.

On behalf of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, let me extend holiday greetings to you.

We are ardently congratulating all Soviet people on the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and wish them success in the great cause of renewing their socialist homeland.

On this solemn day, we are sending greetings and friendly wishes to the people of socialist countries, communists and democrats around the world and all foreign friends.

We convey our best wishes to foreign representatives who are sharing our celebrations.

I thank you and heads of state, governments, parties and organizations, as well as separate individuals for their greetings.

Holiday greetings.

The reception passed in a warm and festive atmosphere.

Further on Gorbachev 7 Nov Interview

PM0711215589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Nov 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by unnamed correspondent at the Kremlin Mausoleum 7 November, published as part of a report by correspondents S. Bogatko, Yu. Kazmin, and N. Sautin: "October Is the Main Event of the 20th Century"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, gave an interview on the mausoleum platform for the first time for millions of television viewers.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich, happy holiday!

[Gorbachev] Same to you. At this time you always rise above humdrum concerns and think about our great cause. After all, October is a turning point for us—and not only for us. It represents a turning point in the destiny of all civilization. The ideals and slogans inscribed on the October banners are also our guidelines today.

Looking at this festive throng on Red Square, we return to all we have lived and experienced, evaluate it, think about the country's future, and try to resolve the tasks of perestroyka. This is hard, courageous work, but it is essential for us. We have set ourselves the goal of reviving our society and renewing our society on the principles by which the Bolsheviks, the working class, and working masses accomplished the revolution. We have delved deep into our country's history and subjected our entire history to uncompromising analysis. We are convinced that in principle the choice made in October is the correct one. That is my first thought.

I can see slogans in favor of perestroyka. People are in favor of proceeding more resolutely with perestroyka.

That is the slogan of the day today. We have left the old forms but have still not entered the new forms. There have been some losses as a result, and management has been weakened. So, are we to go backward? That would be a mistake, a very great mistake. So, we must go forward. Go forward more rapidly toward new forms and master them. The people and society realize this now.

[Correspondent] We can see the following slogan on Red Square today: "Perestroyka is a new look for socialism"...

[Gorbachev] Socialism has not fully revealed its true colors as a system and as a structure. When we talk about renewing socialism, we associate this above all with boosting people's prosperity. Working people followed the Bolsheviks for a new life, a life where ordinary people feel good and confident. Where they feel masters of their own destiny and the country's destiny. Perestroyka is proceeding via democratization, glasnost, the democratization of economic life, and the transfer of power to the soviets. It is being effected by giving people access to spiritual culture and political processes. Perestroyka elevates man. That is the most important thing.

At this very difficult stage of perestroyka unresolved problems to do with food and the state of the market loom over us like the sword of Damocles—I admit that expression even though it is a harsh one. This alarms people and gives rise to elements of irritation. But the main thing is that we have moved along the path of renewal. I saw a slogan here in the holiday processions and I vote for this slogan: "We Are in Favor of Socialism Lenin-Style." I think that the implementation of Lenin's concept centering on the working people constitutes renewed socialism.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich, we usually talk with people passing through Red Square in the holiday processions. But, in your opinion, what is the distinguishing feature of today's demonstration.

[Gorbachev] You know, it is more democratic. There is no pomposity. People came with the right attitude. That is the first point. Second: You can see people stopping by the rostrum: They simply want to take a look. They feel calm, no one is urging them on; in short, this is democracy. I like the fact that people came to this demonstration with slogans which are in line with the current situation and with a desire to overcome and bid farewell to the adminstrative-edict system of the past and defeat bureaucratism. At the same time what interesting information there is here in the ranks. In one rayon 16,000 communal apartments are being reconstructed, refurbished, and leased to working people, while in another a hospital is taking shape, and in a third labor productivity has risen by 24 percent. I can see this from the slogans and posters. This means that people realize that the success of perestroyka is ultimately linked with the labor of the working class and working people. That is the distinguishing feature of today's demonstration.

There will be more rallies and discussions; we need these discussions. That is democracy, that is life in a socialist society. But you increasingly realize today that the decisive success of perestroyka is linked with constructive creative work and with organization, discipline, and order. I believe that this all combines well.

[Correspondent] Last: What would you like to wish today, on the 72d anniversary of October.

[Gorbachev] We should possibly have begun with this, but we began with October and were also correct in doing so. Let me take this opportunity—this is, incidentally, also a first for perestroyka, the first time that an interview has come from the Mausoleum rostrum—I want to wish our Soviet people further good accomplishments and wish our country renewal. I congratulate all Soviet people cordially and ardently on behalf of our country's leadership on our main holiday—Great October!

Yazov's Order of the Day

PM0711150789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

["USSR Defense Minister Order of the Day No 395" dated Moscow, 7 November 1989]

[Text] Comrade soldiers and sailors, sergeants and petty officers, ensigns and warrant officers, officers, generals, and admirals!

Comrade veterans of war, labor, and the USSR Armed Forces!

Today the Soviet people, Army and Navy personnel, the working people of the fraternal socialist states, and all progressive mankind are festively celebrating the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

A process of fundamental perestroyka in all spheres of life has gotten under way in the country. Real ways are being formulated for the consistent transformation of production relations and the national economy and the resolution of social problems. The policy defined by the party of the profound renewal of socialism is persistently being implemented.

International tension has fallen somewhat as a result of the practical realization of the principles of the new political thinking. However, guarantees of the irreversibility of the positive changes which have begun in the world have not yet taken shape. In this situation the country's reliable defense was and still is a most important task for our people, who endured the very grim war against fascism.

The USSR Armed Forces, rallied around the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, have actively joined in perestroyka. In unified formation with the armies of the allied socialist countries they are honorably fulfilling their patriotic duty, doing everything necessary to maintain their combat might at the level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency for defense, and reliably guarding the fraternal peoples' creative labor and socialism and peace on earth.

I congratulate you on the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

I wish you successes in military and peaceful labor, in combat and political training, in improving military skill, and in enhancing vigilance and constant readiness to defend socialism's gains and our motherland's state interests. And I wish you to worthily greet the 28th CPSU Congress.

To mark the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution **I order**: that a festive 30-gun artillery salute be fired today, 7 November 1989, at 2100 hours local time, in the capital of our motherland—the hero-city of Moscow—the union republic capitals, the hero-cities of Leningrad, Volgograd, Odessa, Sevastopol, Novorossiysk, Kerch, Tula, Smolensk, and Murmansk, the hero-fortress of Brest, and also in the cities of Kaliningrad, Lvov, Rostov-na-Donu, Kuybyshev, Novosibirsk, Chita, Khabarovsk, Vladivostok, and Severomorsk.

Long live the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the heroic Soviet people and their valiant Armed Forces!

Glory to the CPSU—the initiator and combat vanguard of perestroyka!

Army General D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense.

Military Parade Participants Meet

PM0711151189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 89 First Edition p 1

[Report by reserve Colonel F. Semyanovskiy: "Meeting of Parade Participants"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting dedicated to the 72d anniversary of the Great October Revolution has been held by participants in the 118th military parade in Red Square.

The following took part in the meeting: Army General K. Kochetov, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Army General V. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister; A. Soshnikov, first deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee State and Law Department; Yu. Prokofyev, secretary of the Moscow CPSU City Committee; and V. Borisenkov, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Oblast Committee.

A report was delivered by Colonel General N. Kalinin, troop commander of the Moscow Military District and parade commander.

The parade participants were greeted by N. Pyatchits, engine tester at the I.A. Likhachev Automotive Plant; N. Treshchalina, dairymaid at the Gorkiy Collective Farm in Leninskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast; and O. Bogdanova, an actress with the Central Academy Theater of the Soviet Army and merited artiste of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

Regional Celebrations Described

PM0811100389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Roundup of reports by TASS and IZVESTIYA correspondents L. Yermakova, M. Zakharchuk, V. Orlov, B. Shestakov, V. Shishlin, V. Yanchenkov, V. Ardayev, S. Bablumyan, N. Baklanov, A. Dzhalilov, A. Karpov, L. Kapelyushnyy, E. Kondratov, I. Litvinova, V. Kuleshov, L. Levitskiy, N. Matukovskiy, V. Nevelskiy, A. Orlov, and G. Shipitko: "Revolution Anniversary in Union Republics"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Tbilisi—On 7 November the capital of Georgia did not greet the October anniversary as usual, with a demonstration and festive columns in the city streets. There are weighty reasons for this. One of them is the exacerbation of the situation and the strikes which have created serious difficulties in the republic's economy and social sphere.

The eve of the festival saw the publication of a report by the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Committee for Statistics, which reflected the real picture of socioeconomic development over 9 months. Industry fulfilled the plan with regard to profits. Hundreds of families which suffered in natural disasters moved into new homes. At the same time industrial enterprises failed to supply consumers with output to the value of more than R170 million.

In accordance with the wishes of labor collectives and the public a meeting of the city soviet was held today instead of a parade of troops and a working people's demonstration. Representatives of the party and soviet aktiv, foremost production workers, veterans, young people, and servicemen participated in it.

Meetings, rallies, and other mass political measures were also held in other cities and villages in the republic. Their participants conducted a constructive discussion of urgent problems and of ways to consolidate all sections of society and people of all nationalities in the interests of the radical renewal of life. Frank dialogues, discussions, and debates made it possible to delve more deeply into the problems of Georgia's national development, whose concept has been submitted for public discussion. [Passage omitted]

Vilnius—The Lithuanian capital does not have a tribune in the usual place, awash with red calico and flowers, nor does the city have that abundance of decorations that always cost hundreds of thousands of rubles. In keeping with a new tradition the people of Vilnius greeted the October festival with a rally by the memorial to V.I. Lenin. Delegations from the rayons and city folk who responded to an invitation to participate in the rally, party, war, and labor veterans, gathered here at the appointed hour.

"The celebrations this year will be more democratic and less official," G. Shaltyanene, secretary of Vilnius City Committee [gorkom] of the Lithuanian Communist Party, said. "This is not a decision by the apparatus. In preparing for the festival the gorkom considered the opinion of working people and the party aktiv. Even at the rally there are none of the traditional speeches, reports, and so forth. However, this certainly does not mean that the people of Vilnius have lost their interest in the revolutionary festival. The traditional demonstration will not be compulsory."

But many production collectives, including those of leading enterprises, expressed a desire to march along the main street.

Kishinev—This year, which has taken place under the sign of an exacerbation of interethnic relations, a heated election struggle, and political strikes, rallies, and demonstrations, has shaped up in a very complex way for Moldavia. Far from everything is well with the transfer of economic management to a new footing either. And yet the longed-for new things are making headway in all spheres of the life of Kishinev people, albeit not as quickly as we would like.

The complex political processes occurring in the republic and people's dissatisfaction with the pace and quality of the changes taking place within it were reflected in the participation in the demonstration of the Moldavian People's Front, whose columns brought up the rear of the festive procession. Essentially at that moment the demonstration turned into a rally. Banners called for a fundamental shift of Moldavia's political and economic destiny, the transfer of all power to the soviets, and real sovereignty for the republic.

Riga—Riga's festive decorations are more modest this year, for the money is taken from the budget allocated to the provision of public services and amenities in the city. But the columns of demonstrators on the Komsomolskaya Embankment were probably no smaller than usual. The appeals by the Latvian People's Front and articles in the mass media urging people to ignore the events to celebrate the 72d anniversary of the October revolution had no effect. As the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau pointed out, on the eve of the festival "certain public organizations and movements interpreted such a demarche as a kind of inducement to actions of a provocative nature."

But the festival has nonetheless come to the city. Representatives of labor collectives and public organizations and veterans are marching. Those who are marching in the festive columns include future deputies of local Latvian SSR soviets and their electors.

"The elections will be held in an atmosphere of glasnost, the democratization of society, and the activation of many sociopolitical organizations, as well as the emergence of organizations which call themselves parties and have entered into a political struggle for power." This is the opinion of A.P. Rubiks, chairman of Riga City Soviet Executive Committee. "A strenuous struggle for the mandates of city and rayon soviet deputies lies ahead." [Passage omitted]

Tallinn—The sailors of the motor ship "Skulptor Matveyev" arrived in port in time for the festival. The ship delivered approximately 20,000 tonnes of barley. In addition to festive wishes, congratulations on winning the pre-October competition among the collectives of the Estonian Sea Shipping Company also awaited the sailors.

"We believe that labor rivalry is certainly not obsolete," I. Lovetskiy, chairman of the labor collective council of the Estonian Sea Shipping Company, said. "Independence and economically accountable relations are restoring its true meaning."

The festive demonstration was not attended by the traditionally large number of people—the emblems of the Leninskiy and Oktyabrskiy Rayons and many well-known enterprises, higher educational institutions, and institutes were missing. Participation in the demonstration was declared absolutely voluntary for collectives and citizens. There were no tribunes in Vabaduze Square. After the military parade the columns of demonstrators marched along Estonia Avenue and Lenin Avenue and laid flowers at the memorial to the leader of the October revolution. Leaders of the republic and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee marched in one of the front columns. Today they are in the same ranks as the demonstrators.

'Festive Demonstrations'

LD0711182489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 7 Nov 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Festive demonstrations took place today in Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Tashkent, Alma Ata, Baku, Vilnius, Kishenev, Riga, Frunze, Dushanbe, Ashkhabad, and Tallinn. In Yerevan today, for the first time, the traditional military parade and demonstration of the working people did not take place. Wreaths were laid at the monument to the warrior in Lenin Square. [Video shows festive demonstrations in cities listed and wreath laying in Yerevan with Arutyunyan taking part]

Republic Celebrations

PM0811124489 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 89 Second Edition p 2

["Collective reportage" by PRAVDA correspondents on countrywide celebrations of Great October Socialist Revolution anniversary, with V. Fedotov "at the editorial duty desk": "In a New, Free Family"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] In Leningrad, V. Gerasimov and N. Volynskiy report, the decorations in Palace Square are more modest than in past years. All the same, a holiday is a holiday. The columns of demonstrators, headed by the city's party and soviet leaders, are colorful and vivid. On the platforms there are party and labor veterans and guests of honor. Representatives of various democratic movements, as it is now customary to call them, march separately, with their own banners.

Just before, the local statistics administration published figures on the socioeconomic situation in the Leningrad region. A complex situation has developed. There is a recession in many important areas. That is doubtless why concern was mingled with the Leningraders' animated mood. First and foremost among the Communists. [passage omitted]

Many people today are concerned to restore historical truth about everything, including the party. The whole truth, not a newly falsified version. But signs of possible distortions have appeared, according to I. Froyanov, professor at Leningrad university and dean of the history faculty:

"In the higher educational establishments a new course on 20th-century sociopolitical history. But the separate study of CPSU history is thereby excluded. This is a totally unjustified extreme position. Without a full knowledge of party history, in which there is tremendous interest today, it is impossible to look to the future honestly and without prejudice."

...The columns of demonstrators passed. And soon people began to stroll about, in holiday mood, in the square and elsewhere in the city. Fireworks blazed in the sky above the Neva.

The celebrations in Kiev, M. Odinets and I. Tikhomirov report, began with a parade of troops from the military garrison. Marching in the combat formations were the grandsons of those who drove the fascist aggressors from the Soviet Ukraine 45 years ago and who, taking part in the 1939 liberation campaign, helped to fulfill the age-old dream of reuniting the Ukrainian people in a single state.

The demonstration was opened, according to tradition, by columns of production frontrunners. Banners declared that in many indicators the Ukraine has reached the 5-year plan level. Increased labor productivity accounts for the entire increase in industrial, agricultural, and construction output and national income.

"But the situation is complex," N. Tishchenko, first secretary of Radyanskiy Rayon party Committee, said, sharing his concerns. "The operation of the economic mechanism is not yet efficient. Strikes have a marked effect, even if they take place far from Kiev."

The correspondents talked with I. Bushma, a construction workers' team leader. The worker's mood was good. The people of Kiev owe the renovations in the city to the construction workers. Three more stations on the new subway line will appear by the end of the year. Housing districts are growing and acquiring amenities, a big new movie theater is opening on Troyeshchina, and not far from the central platform you can see the vivid sign on a new building—the "Kreshchatik" Hotel.

"On the path of perestroyka—to the 28th CPSU Congress"—this slogan hung in red over the central highway along which the festive march of the working people of the Ukrainian capital passed.

What is new in Minsk? For one thing, A. Simorov and A. Ulitenok told us in answer to the editorial office's question, the columns of representatives of working people were formed on stricity voluntary principles. If you have the desire to participate in the demonstration—take your place under the red banners. Tens of thousands of people responded warmly to this appeal from the party organizations. And another thing: The Belorussians had no reason to be embarrassed about the results of their labor. This is the republic's October visiting card: The volume of production in industry increased by 4.7 percent in the first 9 months of the year, and labor productivity by 5 percent. Rural workers have gathered the biggest grain crop in their history—8.3 million tonnes. The construction of apartments has speeded up. Consumer goods worth more than half a billion rubles have been produced above plan. On the eve of the holiday the capital's inhabitants began to enjoy several new cafeterias, cares, restaurants, children's clinics, trading centers and department stores, small stores, and sociocultural, physical culture, and health centers.

The figure "50" constantly recurred in the columns of demonstrators. Those present immediately understood what it meant. That is the number of years that have passed since the reunification of Western Belorussia with the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. The call rang out loudly over the square: "Let us turn the Soviet Federation into a harmonious, prosperous, multinational state!"

In Tashkent, in the central V.I. Lenin Square, two colors predominated—red and white, V. Artemenko reports. Demonstrators carried purple banners and snow-white cotton bolls past the platform. The republic's agricultural workers have grown a good crop of "white gold" and handed over more than 5 million tonnes to the reception centers in time for the holiday. The city dwellers have also done well. Volumes of production of industrial output have increased. There has been a substantial step forward in group "B," which has for the first time overtaken group "A" in terms of growth rates, while the increase in consumer goods production was 25 percent.

PRAVDA's correspondent interviewed people in the festive columns. A. Shaabidov, a fitter and repair man at the "Malika" Knitwear Association, brought his four sons and daughters to the demonstration. They all work at the same enterprise. Askar-aka has more than 20 pupils working alongside him. The honored rationalizer comments with animation on the republican news. The news is this: A Law on the State Language has been adopted, and the Uzbek Supreme Soviet has ratified a decision on the stabilization of the situation in the republic.

"Like other workers in our collective, I approve the Supreme Soviet decisions on imposing order," A. Shaabidov said. "It is high time to curb the demagogues and hooligans."

Many interviewees noted that perestroyka is proceeding with difficulty, contradictions, and great intensity of effort. But there have been changes. [passage omitted]

One recent innovation is that in festive Baku, they invite onto the guest platform not only the republic's leadership workers, but also hundreds of labor frontrunners—state farm [sovkhoz] workers, collective farm members, machine building workers, oilmen, chemical workers, construction workers, the people whose labor and energy are strengthening Azerbaijan's economy. PRAVDA correspondent Z. Kadymbekov talked with one of them—Mamedali Guseynov, a fuel extraction foreman at the legendary Neftyanyye Kamni—after the military parade. The first question: How did the oil extraction workers greet 7 November?

"We have a dual celebration: It is 40 years since the foundation of Neftyanyye Kamni. I number myself with pride among the first multinational detachment of marine oilmen who began the extraction work in the Caspian. We have fulfilled the plan by 101 percent and pumped 680 tonnes of fuel to the mainland above plan. That is our modest contribution to perestroyka. We can clearly detect the signs of perestroyka: In our country they have at last faced up to the needs of the working person—the absurd ban on the construction of individual houses and dachas was lifted, and people immediately started building for themselves. The 'Health' program is being implemented. What am I worried or concerned about? The leaders of the two neighboring fraternal republics must find a common language quickly."

PRAVDA's nonstaff correspondent Yu. Stroganov reports from Vilnius: One of the main signs that the true, unfading values of the revolution are still equally dear to our hearts was the rally held in V.I. Lenin square yesterday to mark the 72d anniversary of Great October. The link between today and the traditions of those years can be seen in the expansion of the processes of democratization and the restoration of people's power. This, in particular, was spoken of at the rally. The participants laid flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin.

There are many other tokens of October in the republic too. The economy's turn toward people's needs is not easy, but instances of changes for the better are in evidence. At the Ignalina Nuclear Power Station now, all women with children under the age of 3 will be given child-care leave with a monthly grant of R50. That is the labor collective's decision. An ecological program is being successfully implemented at the "Ekranas" plant in Panevezhis: An installation to remove lead and the smoke from the glass furnaces, designed by specialists from Zaporozhye, has been commissioned.

The word "consolidation" is often repeated on the banners that flutter above the festive columns, A. Pasechnik reported from Kishinev. It is now the main motto of the day in Moldavia. The sociopolitical situation, which has become increasingly complex in recent months, urgently requires the unification of all society's healthy forces in the struggle for the bright ideals of October, which perestroyka has restored to us.

"Peace, peace, peace in our home!" one of the columns chanted. Tranquillity and prudence are particularly necessary today in order more rapidly to restructure and ennoble our great home, which we call the Soviet land. Everyday labor life can only be peaceful. But at the moment this daily life is more tense than ever before in the republic. The year is ending with difficulty, but on the whole with success in the fields and livestock units. Industrial collectives are gradually emerging from the recent hitches. Things are less good in construction.

One of the columns merging in Victory Square attracted attention with a large, elegant model of a multistory apartment block revolving on top of a truck. Beautiful buildings like this are now being built in the new housing districts of the city by the Kishinev Large-Panel Housing Design and Construction Association. At the risk of spoiling someone's festive mood, I took a brief interview from a banner carrier—leading team leader S. Mitev.

"You are greeting the holiday in an untraditional way, Stepan Stepanovich—with stoppages..."

"It is not traditional... And this is all the more distressing because people do not grudge their efforts, realizing, sensing, how acute the housing problem is. In August and especially in September many construction sites were at a standstill for a long time, without cement and metal—because of the strikes. As a worker, I vote for democracy with both hands. And that includes the right to strike. But something else must not be forgotten: However many rallies you hold and however many strikes, that does not build any apartments. You have to work."

Different languages were heard in the festive columns, Moldavian, Russian, and Ukrainian songs rang out. And yet there was only one language, the best—the language of goodwill and understanding.

It strikes you imemdiately, O. Meshkov says, sharing his observations, that those who are taking part in the demonstration in Riga are doing so out of sincere, heartfelt enthusiasm. Unfortunately some people would like to cast a cloud over our bright holiday and belittle its significance. The day before, at a session of the Latvian People's Front Duma Board, there was an appeal to ignore the festive events. But whoever really values the ideas of perestroyka paid no heed to this appeal.

Those who are in the columns of demonstrators today are resolving through their labor the problem of supplying consumer goods to the population. Workers from the "Latvbytkhim" Production Association are marching here. They were the first to introduce high-productivity rotary lines in the repbulic, and recently they have doubled the numbers of them. Consumer goods worth R7 million have been produced above the target this year. The workers of the flagship of Latvian industry, the VEF Production Association, are preparing for the production of modern new equipment. Greetings ring out in honor of this harmonious multinational collective and in honor of the labor of Latvian machine building workers, dockers, scientists, transportation workers—all who are advancing the cause of perestroyka. [passage omitted]

This year's festival is unusual in Yerevan. Because of a number of factors, it was decided not to hold a military parade and demonstration of working people. The funds allocated for large-scale celebrations, A. Sarkisyan reports, have been channeled into a special fund for the elimination of the consequences of the earthquake.

The main events to mark the anniversary of Great October took place on the days prior to the holiday. There was a ceremonial session of Yerevan City Party Committee and the city soviet of people's deputies with the participation of representatives of party and social organizations and the Soviet Army and production frontrunners. The republic's leading artists gave a festive concert. Ceremonies to honor veterans of the party, labor, and war were held in party committees, labor collectives, and schools. There was an honest, emotional discussion of the resolution of urgent interethnic, social, and economic problems.

In the morning of 7 November Yerevan appeared to its citizens in a bright, decorated guise. Leaders of the republic and representatives of labor collectives laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin monument. Wreaths and flowers were laid at the monuments to S. Shaumyan, A. Myasnikyan, S. Kirov, and other prominent revolutionaries.

A bright festive atmosphere prevailed in everything today—in the smiles of the elegantly clad citizens, in the brightly colored balloons in the hands of irrepressible kids, and in the carefully "washed" streets of the city, M. Volkov says, giving us his impressions of the demonstration in Ashkhabad. I met with an acquaintance on the guest platform—Durdygeldy Khodzhageldiyev, deputy of the republic Supreme Soviet and cotton grower on the "Leninizm Yely" sovkhoz in Ashkhabadskiy Rayon.

"You can use our farm as an example to illustrate the changes that have taken place throughout the republic since April 1985," my interlocutor said. "The former leaders replaced honest labor with window dressing, and on our sovkhoz alone about 1,000 hectares of cotton was left out of the reckoning. The renewal in the party and society enabled us to expel them from the ranks of the CPSU and elect our own director. He is an intelligent, enterprising specialist, and we work closely with him. The results came quickly: We are regularly fulfilling plans in all indicators."

The republic is resolutely purging itself of negligent, dishonest leaders. The people approve this process and work enthusiastically. For the 2d year in succession Turkmenistan has fulfilled in the optimum time the intensive state orders for the main agricultural crops—cotton, vegetables, melons. Of course, there are still many social problems. There is a shortage of housing, hospitals, schools, kindergartens, but I am sure I am not the only one to look at it this way: No one else will resolve these problems for us.

I. Teterin is in his 1st year as our correspondent in Tallinn. But before that he was KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's own correspondent in the republic. And he is watching the processes in social life carefully.

Some people may find it surprising, he observes, but after last year's experiment, when on the anniversary of the October Revolution here they confined themselves to only a brief meeting and people's festivities, this year they have decided to go back to the tried and tested way of celebrating 7 November in the Estonian capital. A military parade, a working people's demonstration, and the laying of flowers at the V.I. Lenin monument.

The tradition turned out to be no bad thing. Especially since now the November demonstration is no longer a formally organized event, but an act of free expression of the masses' will.

So the flags and banners fluttered in the Baltic wind from morning on. The content of the slogans is very varied, sometimes they contradict one another. But people's mood is perhaps best expressed not by the politicized slogans, but by the successes, problems, and hopes with which they greet the holiday. Let us ask them about it. Now, for instance, a column from an enterprise that is well known far beyond the bounds of Estonia—the "Marat" Association—is marching through Freedom Square.

"First of all I wish to stress," N. Khunt, deputy secretary of the party committee, told me on the eve of the holiday, "that our main concern today is the enterprise's switch to real economic accountability. Autonomy is not easy —many problems are arising. But we do not intend to turn aside from our chosen path."

So the old holiday traditions have gained new content in Tallinn. All the same, there was one exception to the former pattern of celebrations. There was no lofty platform for leaders and honored guests in Freedom Square on this day. Those who would have taken places on the platform joined the columns of demonstrators.

'Irresponsible Actions' in Moldavia

LD0711170389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1330 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Excerpts] [No dateline as received] [passage omitted] Kishinev: Members of the "Kreator" Cooperative today walked for the first time among the columns of marchers in Victory Square. This cooperative is only 5 months old, but its products are known far beyond the borders of Moldavia and enjoy a steady demand—their products include exercise equipment and medical apparatus.

Members of the People's Front of Moldavia also took part in the demonstration for the first time as a separate column. However, the irresponsible actions of the leaders of the People's Front led to a violation of public order and thus clouded the festive atmosphere. [passage omitted]

7 Nov Vilnius Protest

LD0711163289 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] A Vilnius Radio journalist reporting from the streets of Vilnius about the celebrations of the Great October Revolution encountered a commotion:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified journalist] Here we came across an incident which I would say is absolutely unexpected. We came here to report about the 7 November celebrations, to make a festive report, you know; and here we have people who hold different views indeed.

Tell me please, what is your point of view, what did you want to prove with this act?

[Unidentified speaker] First of all this has been organized by students from the Vilnius Engineering Institute, the University, and the Conservatoire. The point is, we do not want all these tanks and machines rolling here along Gediminas Avenue.

[Second speaker] Who are they showing off their strength to? To themselves or for abroad? I simply do not see the point.

[First speaker] And in general we want these tanks out of our land. We want the occupational armed forces to leave Lithuania. You know, of course, that the Army came here as an occupational army, the apparatus is the Army apparatus. There was no military parade before in this country [Lithuania]. This is done to put pressure on our feelings, on our main objective, which is the independence of Lithuania.

[Journalist] Are you students?

[Speakers] Yes we are.

[Third speaker] I am a worker.

[Journalist] So, this is your common point of view. Did anyone organize this all, or did you boys organize it yourselves?

[Speakers] We organized it ourselves. I do not want to have tanks in the streets of Vilnius. I do not want it. This is my opinion. I do not want such parades. I can even say there is no need to have them, even in Moscow.

[Second speaker] Why are they showing their strength? They are doing it to scare somebody. This is how we understand this. [end recording]

[Announcer] For those who did not happen to witness what happened at the start of the military parade on Gediminas Avenue, here is an explanation. These young men we just talked to attempted to obstruct the movement of the military hardware. They partitioned off the street with a human chain. Women also protested, kneeling down on the cobble-stone street in front of the moving combat hardware. However, the forces of the law managed on several occasions to clear the way for the column.

According to information we received from the Sajudis Information Agency, no political or public organization is taking responsibility for organizing this action.

Further on Demonstration Incidents

PM0811120589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 89 p 1

[Roundup of reports by A. Bystrov: "Holiday on Our Street"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday the demonstrations took place more modestly than before, but far more sincerely. People went out onto the streets and squares of their cities to express support for perestroyka. [passage omitted]

A TASS correspondent's dispatch has come in from Kishinev: "For the first time, members of the Moldavian People's Front took part in the demonstration in a separate column. But the irresponsible actions of the People's Front leaders led to the violation of public order and thus cast gloom on the festive atmosphere." [passage omitted]

Our own correspondent Vladimir Medvedev has reported:

A procession of representatives of the Moscow Association of Voters was held in the capital yesterday. Gathering at 0800 hours in the region of the "Dinamo" subway station, the columns marched to the square in front of the "Olimpiyskiy" Sports Complex, where a meeting took place.

The action was authorized by a 6 November decision of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee. The participants in the procession carried banners in support of members of the Interregional Group of people's deputies, in favor of repealing article 6 of the USSR Constitution, and against the formation of production okrugs at the elections to local soviets.

From the start, the procession was joined by a column from the Russian People's Front and a group from the "Democratic Union." Those who joined the procession accompanied their advance to the "Olimpiyskiy" complex with the chanting of slogans of an antisocialist nature.

Our own correspondent in Donetsk, Viktor Kosyak, witnessed unseemly events. He reported:

Among the celebrating people were members of the Donetsk Inventors Club and "Rukh" (Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka). No one noticed anything reprehensible in their behavior. Nonetheless they were "removed" from the square, evidently for "preventive" purposes—just to be on the safe side. Their arms were twisted behind their backs and they were taken away.

"What was the motive for arresting the group?" I asked the militia staffers.

"Their action as not authorized," was the answer.

That is strange, what "authorization" is needed for citizens to take part in the demonstration?

Journalists appeared and the "arresting" group dissolved before our eyes. The oblast internal affairs administration and the oblast prosecutor's office are now studying this unpleasant incident. [passage omitted]

Mining Situation During Celebration

LD0711185589 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 7 TASS—The Great October Revolution was celebrated in major Soviet coal areas under the motto: To acquire a necessary working rhythm and provide conditions for normal life.

Following reports by TASS correspondents:

Donetsk—Miners at the Gorkiy pit and in the entire area responded with interest to Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov's address, according to pit workers Yevgeniy Shchetinin.

Ryzhkov set a date when miners' representatives will be able to directly discuss urgent problems with the head of the government. There are many problems and they can be solved only through joint efforts and honest and conscientious work.

Karaganda—Passions ran high at a meeting of the local miners' committee. The meeting was expected to bring the committee's rule in line with a parliamentary ban for strikes in key industries. Given the diversity of opinions, the meeting could hardly be expected to pass a concrete decision. Nevertheless, most miners agreed that grass-roots actions shall be constructive and promote Perestroyka.

Workers must not be drawn into another man's fight for power, said M. Nurtazin, a drifter at the Karagandinskaya pit.

This would be the biggest mistake. We have clear-cut targets today. The country's leadership also has a clear understanding of these targets and Nikolay Ryzhkov's address to the miners confirms this.

Vorkuta (the Komi Autonomous Republic)—Miners are continuing their strike in most mines in Vorkuta and carried out only mailntenance works on Tuesday. Coal production fell 236,000 tonnes short of target in the first six days in November.

Inta (The Komi Autonomous Republic)—All miners of the Intaugol Amalgamation are working normally and have produced more than 450,000 tonnes of coal over and above the plan since the beginning of the year. Coal is being dispatched to consumers ahead of schedule. More than 7000 tonnes of extra coal have been dispatched since November 1. The shipment of coal was continuing at an accelerated pace today, despite October Day celebrations.

No Military Parades in Georgia, Armenia

LD0811014989 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] The 72d anniversary of the Russian socialist revolution is being celebrated across the nation. Georgia and Armenia, in the Transcaucasus, decided to skip a military parade this year. Working people there held meetings. Diagrams devoted to the conversion of munitions production figured prominently in parading columns in the Ukrainian capital, Kiev.

The column of the public movement Nevada-Semipalatinsk was the strongest and most active at the parade in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan. Participants in this movement paraded with banners calling for writing an end to nuclear weapons testing at Semipalatinsk and closing down this test site. They asked for help to stamp out the ecological effects of years of nuclear tests.

In Kishinev, Moldavia, in the southwest of the country, the Popular Front tried to torpedo the military parade and upset the civil parade. Its members blocked the square where military equipment was to appear.

In the Estonian capital, Tallinn, party and government leaders were in parading columns. Together with representatives of the Tallinn working people, they laid flowers to the monument of the founder of the Soviet state, Vladimir Lenin.

Further on Armenian Events

NC0811101589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] The workers of Soviet Armenia greet this year's celebration of the Great October Revolution under exceptional conditions. The colossal earthquake of December struck an immense blow to our endeavors; it caused enormous material damage to the republic. The social and political situation in the republic is also complex, with many unresolved problems.

For the first time, no military and workers parade took place in Yerevan. However, as befits such a memorial day, Lenin Square was festively decorated. Wreaths were placed at the Lenin Monument yesterday on behalf of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, and Council of Ministers. Wreaths were also laid by public and political organizations.

Representatives of the work collectives, war and labor veterans and youth came to the square to pay their respect to the great leader. On the same day wreaths were also placed at the monuments of the staunch revolutionaries Aleksandr Miasnikyan and Stepan Shaumyan as well as at the monument of those who gave their lives for the establishment of the soviet regime in Armenia.

Perestroyka's Link With 1917 Revolution Assessed

PM0811143389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Pavel Giutonov article: "Happy Anniversary, Dear Comrades! A Journalist's Notes. The Choice Is Unchanged!"]

[Text] Now, decades later, it is perhaps more obvious than ever before: October 1917 not only determined the historical future of our own country, it also influenced the future of all other peoples on earth, including those whose way of life today is better, richer, and more organized than ours. Incidentally, it may be because they "learned the lessons" of October better than we did, interpreting our achievements and steering clear of our mistakes. We ourselves, to be honest, turned out to be "able but lazy" pupils...

But today we are returning to the ideals of our own revolution, and it is not by chance that we have the same slogans as in 1917 on the banners of perestroyka. Yes, a great deal of time has been lost, and we again have to struggle to put these slogans into practice and overcome obstinate and tenacious opposition from those who, unfortunately, have already become accustomed to thinking that socialism is only a collection of ossified dogma, a formula book, a set of instructions on how to lead people who are not aware of their own happiness. Rather than a society where those who work well live well, including those who make bread rise well, sew clothes well, make good computers, write good books...

Today, posters have been put up all over Moscow: "The aim of perestroyka is to reveal socialism's powerful potential!" And it is probably true that we are meeting this anniversary of October not with the usual trite exaltation, but rather with an idea of the vast number of urgent tasks facing us—every individual and all of us together—and the idea that neither the Politburo nor the Supreme Soviet, whose sessions we are following with such attention and enthusiasm, will solve them for us.

We have experienced a difficult year. Our economy, to put it bluntly, did not bring many "labor gifts for the anniversary," social tension in many areas of the country is causing pain in the hearts of the people, and many important and impatiently awaited reforms are not going through... And yet. Today we are no longer the same as we were even a year ago. People are being liberated and becoming more forthright, and they are becoming aware that they themselves are responsible for what is going on around them. All this is an absolutely vital condition if every one of us is to bestride our immense motherland not "like a master," but as a master in the full sense of the word.

The processes now taking place in the country are not called revolutionary just for effect. This makes it even more important to interpret the experience of October, look closely at its features, undistorted by retouching, listen to the opinions and arguments of the founders of our state, leaders, and the rank and file fighters in the party who made the revolution victorious. As we are talking about loyalty to ideals and principles that are now being interpreted anew, it probably follows that we must return primarily to the ideas that gave the Bolsheviks in 1917 the absolute support of the majority of the Russian population.

The times are imperiously demanding unity and the consolidation of all the forces that really desire changes and renewal in society. We are a great country and we must live in accordance with that binding definition. We are now living through one of the crucial times in our history. And, as is already obvious, the decisions we make today do not only concern us, but also our children and grandchildren.

Engels once noted that people who organize a revolution "always realize the following day that they did not know what they were doing, and that the revolution they have staged is completely different from the one they intended to stage." Today we know what revolution Lenin and his comrades-in-arms wanted to stage in 1917. We know what was successful and what was not (and which mistakes were the cause). And, as we observe the anniversary, fighting for our perestroyka today, we are again saying: OUR revolution.

Azerbaijan Sovereignty Law Detailed

90US0144A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 5 Oct 89 p 1

[Azerbaijan SSR Constitutional Law: "Sovereignty of the Azerbaijan SSR"]

[Text] Proceeding from the right of each nation to self-determination and on the basis of the freely expressed wishes of the people of the republic on the principles of equality and preservation of its sovereignty, the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] joined with the other Soviet republics in the USSR.

The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet:

proceeding from the inalienable right of the people of the Azerbaijan SSR to freely and independently determine their destiny;

recognizing that only the free and equal association of the Soviet nations within the framework of a socialist federation guarantees their all-around development;

recognizing the vital need to rid union relations of various deformations which have arisen as the result of a departure from the Leninist concept of the Soviet union state;

guided by the basic principles proclaimed in the Treaty on the Formation of the USSR and the provision of the current USSR Constitution concerning the sovereignty of the union republics; and deeming it necessary to bring the legislation of the Azerbaijan SSR into line with its status of sovereign republic within the USSR, enacts this Constitutional Law.

1. The Azerbaijan SSR is a sovereign socialist state within the USSR. All power in the Azerbaijan SSR belongs to the people and proceeds from the people. The people exercise state power both directly and via the soviets of people's deputies constituting the political basis of the Azerbaijan SSR.

The sovereignty of the Azerbaijan SSR is expressed in the Azerbaijan SSR's independent exercise throughout its territory of the highest legislative, executive and judicial power in the interests of the republic's entire multinational people.

The sovereign rights of the Azerbaijan SSR are safeguarded by the Azerbaijan SSR and the USSR.

2. The Azerbaijan SSR independently decides all questions connected with political, economic and sociocultural building in the republic and its administrative and territorial arrangement. Any interference in the solution of questions constituting the inalienable right of the Azerbaijan SSR should be seen as a flouting of its sovereign rights.

The jurisdiction of the Azerbaijan SSR is limited merely in respect of questions voluntarily delegated by the republic itself to the USSR.

3. The constitutional-law status of the Azerbaijan SSR cannot be changed without the consent of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet.

4. Relations between the Azerbaijan SSR and the USSR are built on a treaty basis, proceeding from the sovereignty of the USSR and the sovereignty of the Azerbaijan SSR.

The Azerbaijan SSR's relations with the union republics are built on the principles of their equality, cooperation, mutual respect for sovereign rights and noninterference in one another's internal affairs.

5. The sovereignty of the Azerbaijan SSR extends to the entire territory of the republic, including the Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, which are an inalienable part of Azerbaijan erbaijan. The territory of the Azerbaijan SSR is inalienable and cannot be changed without its consent expressed by public ballot (referendum) conducted per a decision of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet among the entire population of the republic.

The Azerbaijan SSR's borders with other union republics may be changed only per mutual consent with the pertinent republics.

6. The laws of the Azerbaijan SSR operate on the whole territory of the Azerbaijan SSR. USSR laws which do not violate the sovereign rights of the Azerbaijan SSR operate on the territory of the Azerbaijan SSR.

7. The Azerbaijan SSR has the right to freely leave the USSR. This right is exercised by way of public ballot (referendum) conducted by a decision of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet among the entire population of the republic.

8. In the interests of the protection of the Azerbaijan SSR, its sovereignty and the security of its citizens the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet may, if necessary, declare a state of emergency throughout the republic or in individual localities thereof with the imposition of special forms of administration exercised by state authorities of the Azerbaijan SSR.

9. The Azerbaijan SSR participates in the solution of questions pertaining to the jurisdiction of the USSR in the highest organs of state power and administration of the USSR and other USSR bodies. This right is guaranteed by way of the Azerbaijan SSR's assured representation in the organs of state power and administration of the Union on an equal footing with the other union republics.

10. The land, its interior, forests, waters and other natural resources of the Azerbaijan SSR are national resources and the state property of the republic and belong to the people of Azerbaijan.

The people of the Azerbaijan SSR in the person of their highest organs of state power and administration have the inalienable right to dispose of the republic's natural and material-technical resources.

The procedure of the use and exploitation of the natural resources on the territory of the republic is determined by the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet.

11. The Azerbaijan SSR implements measures pertaining to the republic's guaranteed economic independence.

The Azerbaijan SSR provides for comprehensive economic, social and cultural development on its territory and exercises supervision of the activity of all enterprises, establishments and organizations located on the territory of the republic.

12. Pertaining to the jurisdiction of the Azerbaijan SSR in the person of its highest organs of state power and administration are:

1) adoption of the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution and changes thereto;

2) supervision of compliance with the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution and the guaranteed conformity of the Nakhichevan ASSR Constitution to the Azerbaijan SSR Constitution;

3) the formation of autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts within the Azerbaijan SSR and their abolition;

4) legislation of the Azerbaijan SSR;

5) protection of the sovereignty of the republic, state order and the rights and liberties of the citizens;

6) determination of the procedure of the organization and activity of the highest and local organs of state power and administration;

7) pursuit of a uniform socioeconomic policy and leadership of the economy of the Azerbaijan SSR; support for S&T progress; implementation of measures pertaining to the rational use and protection of natural resources;

8) the elaboration and confirmation of state plans of the economic and social development of the Azerbaijan SSR and the budget of the Azerbaijan SSR and confirmation of the reports on their fulfillment; leadership of implementation of the budget of the Nakhichevan ASSR and the budgets of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and rayons and cities of republic jurisdiction;

9) establishment of supervision of the activity of financial and credit institutions and republic revenue spent on the formation of the budget of the Azerbaijan SSR and the budget of the USSR;

10) leadership of all sectors of the republic's economy; leadership of housing and municipal services, trade and public catering, housing construction and the civic improvement of cities and other inhabited localities, highway construction and transportation of the Azerbaijan SSR;

11) determination of the procedure of the use of land, its interior, forests and waters; implementation of environmental policy;

12) leadership of the public education and cultural and scientific organizations and institutions of the Azerbaijan SSR, health care, physical culture and sports and social security; protection of historical, cultural and natural monuments;

13) leadership of the internal affairs and state security authorities;

14) the creation of a constitutional supervision committee; the formation of courts and other judicial authorities of the republic and determination of their jurisdiction and work procedure;

15) amnesty and pardons for citizens sentenced by courts of the Azerbaijan SSR;

16) leadership of political, economic, scientific and cultural relations with foreign countries;

17) representation of the republic in international relations; and

18) the solution of other questions of republic significance.

13. The official language of the Azerbaijan SSR is Azerbaijani.

The Azerbaijan SSR ensures the use in state and public bodies and cultural, educational and other institutions of Azerbaijani and exercises state concern for its utmost development.

The Azerbaijan SSR ensures the free use and development of Russian and other languages of the population which it uses.

14. The Azerbaijan SSR has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, to conclude treaties with them and exchange diplomatic and consular representatives and to participate in the activity of international organizations.

15. The symbols of the state sovereignty of the Azerbaijan SSR—the flag, emblem and anthem—are sacred, and any abuse of them is punishable by law.

This law takes effect on 25 September 1989. [signed] E. Kafarova, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
R. Kaziyeva, secretary of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
Baku, 23 September 1989

Tajik International Culture Society Formed

LD0811100589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0100 GMT on 8 November carries a 5-Minute report on the founding conference of the Tajik Society for Cultural Ties With Fellow Countrymen Abroad held in Dushanbe on 8 November.

Correspondent (Muzaffar Madzhidov) reports that the society has been called Payvand, Ties of the Generations, by its founders, who are members of public organizations, creative unions, the republic Academy of Sciences, and the Tajik section of the Society for Friendship and Cultural ties with Foreign Countries. It is hoped that enterprise and individuals will also contribute. The first aim of the society is to inform fellow countrymen abroad about perestroyka and glasnost, and the achievements of science, literature, and art in the republic and in the country. It will have its own publications and will organize radio programs for listeners abroad. No further details are given.

(Madzhidov) reports that the society's chairman of the board is Mukhamed Sayfitdinovich Asimov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Asimov says that there are many fellow countrymen abroad, who left the country at different periods. As well as Tajiks, there were also Germans, who lived together with Tajiks for decades, Bukharan Jews who are also part of the Tajik people and who now live in Israel and other countries, but who lived for centuries in Central Asia. Asimov says they must make contact with them. They want to Exchange information about their lives, but also perhaps embark on other forms of cooperation, such as the setting up of joint enterprises and in the field of culture. There are thousands of manuscripts abroad, in the United States, Britain, France, the FRG, and in eastern countries. There are many works in Tajik and Farsi in Indian libraries. The society would like to play a role in editing these manuscripts for publication.

Tajik Party Central Committee Meeting Reported

LD0811103289 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKSTANA in Russian 25 Oct 89 p 1

["Meeting at the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee"—KOMMUNIST TADZHIKSTANA headline]

[Excerpts] At the meeting, which took place in the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee on 21 October, issues were discussed of the ideological situation in the republic, and the tasks of party organizations in preparing and conducting elections of people's deputies to the local soviets. The secretaries dealing with ideological matters, heads of departments of a number of oblast, town, and rayon party committees, workers of the Central Committee apparatuses andof the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, members of the ideological commission of the mass information and propaganda media took part in the meeting.

A.D. Dadabayev, secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report at the meeting. He noted that an election campaign has begun in the republic in connection with the elections of people's deputies to local soviets. As is known, the elections will take place on 24 December of this year. The campaign is taking place in a compled socioeconomic and ideological situation, which is quickly changing under the influence of restructuring processes. [passage omitted]

The Law on Language comes into force in January 1990. Painstaking work must be done for its implementation. In order to skillfully regulate the issues of changing the language situation, party workers must have a perfect knowledge of this law, article by article, and must be able to explain it without either complicating or simplifying the situation. [passage omitted]

Religion influences the situation in the republic to a certain extent. The attitude toward religion and the believers has changed. This attitude is based on the principle of freedom of conscience. It is impossible to ignore the fact that the overwhelming majority of believers do not separate themselves in their consciousness and practical activity from our people as a whole. They live by its ideals and interests, they actively participate in the industrial and public life of the republic, and take part in resolving the issues of perestroyka. There is no doubt about the position occupied by a considerable part of the clergy regarding the assertion of values common to all mankind: high morality, charity, a humane attitude towards people, honesty. All this should be actively utilized in daily ideological work. Relations with clergy and believers must be based on dialogue and cooperation in resolving many vital issues. However, the norms of socialist society and the observance of existing laws must be a determining factor in this. Regarding the issues of world outlook, there must be no compromise between atheism and religion here. Party members and party organizations must not shut their eyes to such harmful traditions and rites as bribing, marrying underage girls, and others. [passage omitted]

Ministerial Appointments Made in Uzbekistan

LD0711145889 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 7 Oct 89 p1

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees the appointment of Comrade Anvar Salikhovich Ikramov as minister of the light industry of the Uzbek SSR. [passage omitted]

The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees the appointment of Comrade Takhir Yakhyayevich Sharipov as deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply. [passage omitted]

Dismissals Follow 'Massive' Turkmen Cotton Fraud

PM2610094989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Vladimir Kuleshov report under the rubric "Direct Line": "Called To Account for Figure Padding"]

[Text] Ashkhabad—The Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has examined the question of "Instances of Figure Padding and Misrepresentation in the Procuremen of the 1988 Raw Cotton Crop in Mary Oblast's Iolotanskiy Rayon." It was pointed out that, as a result of auditing and stocktaking with regard to cotton output following full processing of raw cotton of last year's harvest, a shortfall of 8,250 tonnes was discovered, worth a total of more than R9 million...

Serious figures. But those present at the Central Committee Bureau session were struck not so much by their dimensions as by the massive figure padding and the universal deception of the state practiced on all 11 collective farms in Iolotanskiy Rayon. And by the laxity and the failure to take measures against economic planners who excelled in shameless lies about "successes" achieved or against the leaders of the rayon party committee [raykom] and rayon soviet executive committee [rayispolkom].

Here is another surprising thing. Exactly 2 years ago a Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee plenum discussed the question of gross violations of party and state discipline and complicity in figure padding, misrepresentation, and deception of the state in Tashauz Oblast. The following were dismissed from their posts and expelled from the party: B. Atayev, first secretary of the oblast party committee [obkom]; K. Mollayev, chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee; and N. Lomov, V. Ilyushkin, and U. Shamuratov, secretaries of the obkom. Many former raykom secretaries and rayispolkom chairmen in the oblast also got their deserts. A serious lesson, you might think, and that would be the end of that. But no, there have proved to be many people keen on winning undeserved glory in Mary Oblast.

The Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Bureau made a tough assessment of the negative phenomena. A. Abdullayev, first deputy chairman of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Agroindustrial Committee [Gosagroprom], was severely reprimanded, with a note on his record card, and dismissed from his post. A. Khodzhamuradov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, was reprimanded and Yu. Mogilevets, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Gosagroprom, was severely reprimanded for failing to make exacting demands on ministries, departments, and local soviet executive committees with regard to instilling proper order in the struggle against negative phenomena and in the observance of state and plan discipline. Strict party proceedings were instituted against Iolotanskiy Raykom First Secretary A. Mukhamedova and Rayispolkom Chairman M. Klychev, and they were dismissed from their posts. The Ashkhabad City Party Committee was entrusted with examining the question of the party responsibility of Ch. Gedzhenov, former first secretary of Mary Obkom, for the figure padding and misrepresentation practiced in the procurement of the 1988 raw cotton crop.

Alternative Ukranian Draft Law on Elections

90un0013A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
14 Sep 89 pp 1-3

[Text of "Alternative Draft Law of the Ukrainian SSR 'On Elections to the Organs of Popular Power in the Ukrainian SSR'" issued by the Republic Deputies Club of the Ukrainian Commission To Draw Up Alternative Draft Laws on Additions and Amendments to the Ukrainian SSR Constitution and Elections in the Ukrainian SSR]

[Text] We regard the piece published by the USSR people's deputies (OGONEK No 31, 1989, p 6) and the Open Letter from USSR People's Deputies from the Ukraine to Deputies of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet as a kind of open deputies' appeal to citizens with a progressive world outlook in order for each person to be able to play an active and free part in the creation of the true popular power for which the Great October Revolution took place.

Citizens' attention is drawn to the first working version of an alternative draft law of the Ukrainian SSR "On Elections to the Organs of Popular Power in the Ukraine," drawn up instead of the two published laws "On Elections of People's Deputies in the Ukrainian SSR" and "On the Election of People's Deputies to the Local Soviets of People's Deputies in the Ukrainian SSR," which duplicate each other and make an artificial division between people's deputies and limit the choice the elections merely to the selection of deputies, excluding popular participation in the further formation of the organs of power.

This alternative draft law covers not only the election of people's deputies, but also proposes a new concept for the entire electoral system in which the main player will be the people. The draft eliminates duplication and clearly expresses the basic aim; namely, that the people should be participants and creators of the laws on elections to the organs of popular power, from the people's deputies to the formation of representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies, so that the individual remains the focus of attention.

Kiev 1989.

Section I

FUNDAMENTALS AND PRINCIPLES IN THE EXERCISE OF POPULAR POWER IN THE UKRAINE SSR

Article 1. Fundamentals and Principles of Electoral Rights of Popular Power.

1) The fundamental electoral right for popular power in the Ukrainian SSR is the free expression of the will of the people of the Ukraine through direct election of their authorized representatives; namely, deputies of the local soviets of people's deputies and the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Ukrainian deputies to the USSR, and the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet (the president of the republic). (footnote: There is also a proposal on direct elections of deputies to the Ukrainian SSR Congress of Deputies and the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Constitutional Court. Its aim is to insure within the republic the separation of powers—legislative, executive, and judiciary). At their own forums, deputies will form other representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies by election. The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet will elect the first deputy president of the republic, the members of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, and members of the Ukrainian SSR Constitutional Court and other organs at all levels.

2) Direct elections for soviets of people's deputies in the Ukrainian SSR and for the post of president of the republic will take place for single-mandate or multiple-mandate okrugs through voting by the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR.

3) The basic principles in the electoral rights of popular power are the following: independence and freedom to

exercise electoral rights, universality, equality (one citizen one vote), direct electoral rights, secret ballot, glasnost, democracy, choice of alternative, economic guarantees for the exercise of electoral rights, control by the people, and legal liability.

Article 2. Independence and Freedom To Exercise Electoral Rights of Popular Power.

1) Free and independent expression of the will of each voter is a constitutional right for citizens of the Ukrainian SSR.

2) Direct or indirect limitations of the advantages derived from electoral rights depending on origin, social and property position, racial or national affiliation, sex, education, language, political views or membership in political organizations, attitudes toward religion, or kind and nature of employment are prohibited by law.

3) The only persons not participating in elections are those declared by a court to be incapable, and those being held in places of imprisonment.

4) The promise of material reward, the use of threats of force, and the use of official position in order to achieve a favorable outcome for oneself from elections are not permitted and shall be investigated as a crime.

Article 3. Universality of the Electoral Rights of Popular Power.

1) Citizens living in the Ukrainian SSR have the right to vote and to be elected as a people's deputy in the Ukrainian SSR, or as president of the republic or other posts in representative organs.

2) Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR who have attained the age of 16 years by voting day and who are living on the territory of an electoral okrug have the right to vote; citizens who have attained the age of 21 years and who have lived for at least 1 year on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR have the right to be elected.

Article 4. Equal Electoral Rights.

1) The electoral rights of popular power to be nominated or to nominate oneself, and to be elected are equal for all citizens.

2) A voter has one vote for each person elected. All voters' participation in elections on an equal footing.

Article 5. Direct Electoral Rights.

Citizens elect people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR and the president of the republic directly.

Article 6. Secret Ballot.

Secret ballot is a form whereby the free expression of the will of the voter is exercised under conditions which guarantee for him a place and time and the secret reaching of a decision of the election of deputies and the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies. Any limitations or control over the actions of the voter are gross violations of electoral rights and are liable under the law.

Article 7. Glasnost and Democracy in Electoral Rights.

Preparations for elections, the forming of the corps of contenders and candidates for the posts of soviets of people's deputies and the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies, and the creation and activity of electoral commissions are done openly and publicly.

Article 8. Choice of Alternative in Electoral Rights.

1) People's deputies in the Ukrainian SSR and the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies are elected from at least two contenders for one seat on the voting paper.

2) Voters have the right to participate or not participate in elections and to put forward or withdraw their own nomination.

Article 9. Popular Control of the Activity of the Electoral System.

1) The electoral system at all levels is under the control of the people and it functions in accordance with the law. Upon application from at least half of the voters (of a section or okrug or of the Ukrainian SSR) the question may be raised of ahead-of-schedule elections of soviets of people's deputies and the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies or their recall in the event of improper fulfillment of their obligations.

2) Questions concerning the formation and activity of electoral commission at any level may be raised using the same procedure.

Article 10. Expenses Connected with Elections.

1) Expenses associated with preparations for and the holding of elections are made using the budget assets of the republic, and also the election funds of candidate deputies.

The election fund of a candidate deputy is made up of voluntary contributions from voters, organizations, and labor collectives and public movements.

2) Enterprises, establishments, and organizations are obliged to provide electoral commissions with the premises and equipment essential for preparations for and the holding of elections.

3) Notification of the time and place of election meetings with contenders and candidates is done through the local mass media and paid for using budget assets.

Article 11. Conditions of Liability for Violation of Election Laws.

1) Persons who by force, threats, deception, blackmail, use of official position, or bribery hamper the free exercise of electoral rights are criminally liable.

2) Members of electoral commissions and officials in state or public organs who commit unlawful acts directly or indirectly for the purpose of forging election documents, making incorrect counts of votes, or violating the secret ballot are criminally liable. Persons who have deliberately spread false or slanderous information about contenders and candidates for the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies are also liable. The destruction or misrepresentation of election program materials or agitation documents used during the period in which elections are organized and held is prohibited.

Section II

THE REPORT ON ELECTIONS TO THE ORGANS OF POPULAR POWER IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR

Article 12. The Report on the Holding of Elections.

Elections of people's deputies in the Ukrainian SSR and for the post of president of the republic are held after the report of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet on elections or in consequence of a referendum or plebiscite of the people of the Ukraine.

Article 13. Time Periods and the Adoption of Decisions of Elections.

1) Elections of people's deputies and the post of president of the republic shall take place once every 5 years. In extraordinary circumstances elections may be held early.

2) Elections shall take place within 5 months of their announcement.

Section III

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM AND THE PRINCIPLES OF ITS ACTIVITY IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR

Article 14. The Electoral System for Popular Power.

1) The electoral system for poplar power in the Ukrainian SSR is made up of the following elements: the voters, the election commissions, contenders and candidates for the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies.

2) In order that the electoral rights may be exercised in elections to the posts of soviets of people's deputies in the Ukrainian SSR and for the post of president of the republic, the following organs are created within the electoral system: territorial election commissions for sections and okrugs, the Central Election Commission of the Ukrainian SSR. Elections to other representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies is done at forums of deputies.

Article 15. Principles in the Activity of the Electoral System.

The fundamental principles in the activity of all organs in the electoral system are the following: independence of the electoral system and its control by the people of the Ukraine, publicity in its formation and activity, and protection of citizens' electoral rights.

Section IV

THE VOTERS: THE BASIS OF THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Article 16. The Legal Status of the Voter.

1) Within the electoral system the primary element and its basis are the citizens, who, through the free expression of their will, form the future representative system of the soviets of people's deputies in the Ukrainian SSR.

2) Voters have the right to free and comprehensive discussion of the political, business, and personal qualities of contenders and candidates for the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies.

3) Voters are guaranteed glasnost, freedom of speech, and the right to publication, demonstration and meetings, and boycott of elections.

4) Exercise of the electoral rights of servicemen is done using the following procedure. Those draftees doing their service in the Soviet Army vote at the place where their military units are permanently located. Regular servicemen and their families vote on a universal basis.

Article 17. Voters Lists, Registration, Accountability, and Information in the Electoral System.

1) Voters are fully provided with documents for registration and rendering of returns and they receive information about the course of preparations for and the holding of elections through the election commissions.

2) Voters lists are drawn up for each ward, with columns for the insertion of the voter's family name, name and patronymic, date of birth, address, together with schedules for the voter to receive his voting paper.

3) Voters lists are compiled on the basis of available data on the voters at each voting station and are signed by the chairman and secretary of the election commission. If required, information about a particular individual is clarified with the voter himself and agreed with the registration data on voters in the ispolkoms of the local soviets of people's deputies, which are obligated to insure correct registration and information.

4) Voters list for servicemen, including the members of their families, are held in the military units. Information for the election commissions about voters is made available by the commanders of military units.

5) Voting lists are available for general information for 15 days prior to elections at the premises of the election commission for any particular ward.

6) If he finds an error on a list, any voter has the right to demand that the election commission in the ward correct

it. The commission is obliged to make the necessary change within 3 days or to explain to the voter the reason for its refusal to do so.

7) If a voter does not agree with the decision of the election commission in the ward he has the right to complain to a higher election commission or to the people's court where the ward is located. Data on the matter are reviewed within 3 days.

8) A voter whose name is omitted from the list is included by the election commission on a supplementary list on election day, signed by the chairman and secretary of the election commission in the ward.

9) The voting paper for candidates to posts in the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies are sent to the election commissions in the wards in printed form and are opened in the presence of at least three-fourths of the members of the election commission and representatives of the public, and a document is drawn up to this effect in the established form.

10) Vote counting and the election results are also recorded and registered in a special book of the election commission in the presence of at least three-fourths of the members and representatives of the public.

Article 18. Procedure for Registration and Rendering of Returns in Elections to the Organs of Popular Power.

1) Primary registration and rendering of returns is done by the ward election commission in special journals in which the following are recorded: a list of voters, the number of contenders and candidates for the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies, voting papers, official documents and records of results obtained from the counting of voting papers, and other essential documents.

2) Voting papers are sent to the voting stations in numbered series that are recorded in a special journal. Damaged voting papers are indicated by their number and series when officially recorded.

3) At the end of the elections the ward election commission compiles a record in a strictly determined form, producing two copies; one is retained with the documents of the election commission and the other is sent to the higher election commission.

4) Materials on the activity of the election commission comprise strictly accountable reports and legal liability is involved for violation of handling procedure or intentional damage.

5) Any voter or elected person has the right to familiarize himself with election documents and make extracts or copies.

Section V

THE ELECTION COMMISSIONS AND FORMATION OF ELECTORAL OKRUGS AND WARDS

Article 19. Organization and Activity of Election Commissions.

1) Election commissions are formed to make preparations for and hold elections to the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies in the Ukrainian SSR, as follows: for wards and okrugs, together with the Ukrainian SSR Central Election Commission.

2) Members of the election commissions are nominated at meetings of voters at their place of residence, and from labor collectives, public organizations, associations, and societies, public movements, and citizen groups. Nominations for ward election commissions are put forward by the representatives of any legal entities (enterprises, organizations, associations), and meetings of citizens, public movements, and citizen groups. Citizens who have been put forward as contenders for posts in the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies may not be members of election commissions. At a meeting of representatives a presidium made up of from 7 to 15 persons is elected: a chairman, a secretary, and the presidium members. (footnote: During the course of discussion other proposals were also put forward: election of the electoral commission from among representatives by means of sortition, at sessions of the soviets of people's deputies, and others).

The okrug election commission is formed from among representatives of the labor collectives, associations, and public movements, and at meetings of voters who are proxies for citizens. At the first meeting of the representatives of the okrug election commission a presidium is elected, made up of 11 to 17 persons: a chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and presidium members. Election of presidiums is by secret ballot.

4) One representative each from the okrug election commission, who is chosen as an alternative at a general meeting of the okrug election commission, is delegated to the Ukrainian SSR Central Election Commission. At a general meeting of the members of the Central Election Commission a presidium is elected, made up of a chairman, two deputy chairmen, a secretary, and 27 members.

5) The election commissions are set apart from any influence and subject only to the law. Members of the election commission are accountable to the collectives, and the commissions as a whole are accountable to a higher commission. The Ukrainian SSR Central Election Commission is accountable to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, which confirms the results of its work.

6) Methodological leadership of the work of the okrug and ward election commissions is exercised by the Ukrainian SSR Central Election Commission.

7) The election commissions do the following:

a) inform voters about their make-up, location, work hours, and the formation of electoral okrugs and voting lists;

b) bring to the notice of voters the results of registration of contenders and candidates for the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies, along with biographical data, and the results of the voting for each candidate, and the results of the voting.

8) The mass media will objectively and regularly publicize the course of preparations for and the holding of elections in Russian and Ukrainian and in the other languages used by the population of the Ukrainian SSR. Representatives of the mass media are guaranteed unimpeded access to all measures connected with the elections.

9) At meetings of the election commissions, representatives of the labor collectives, public organizations, and candidate support groups are guaranteed the right to be present when contenders and candidates are registered, ballot boxes are sealed, and votes counted, and during the rendering of returns on the voting.

Article 20. The Ukrainian SSR Central Election Commission and Its Powers.

The Central Election Commission:

1) Is elected for a term of 5 years to organize the preparations for and holding of elections to the representative organs of popular power in the Ukrainian SSR, and to exercise methodological leadership over the election commissions of the territorial okrugs and wards.

2) Exercises control over compliance with this law on all the territory of the Ukrainian SSR and insures its uniform application, and if necessary goes to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet to make representations concerning the interpretation of this law.

3) During election of the president of the republic it fulfills the function of an election commission for a unified all-Ukrainian territorial okrug.

4) Directs the activity of the election commissions and resolves questions concerning the registration of electoral wards located outside the territory of the Ukrainian SSR with the electoral okrugs on Ukrainian SSR territory.

5) Handles questions of financing and material-technical support for the elections for the election commissions, and monitors to insure that election commissions are provided with premises, transport, communications and so forth.

6) Monitors the correct handling of documents by the election commissions and proposes the form to be used for voting papers, counting procedure, and accountability for and storage of election documentation.

7) Hears reports from the ministries and departments and public organs on matters relating to preparations for and holding of elections, and organizes the centralized preparation of voting papers and delivers them to the okrug and ward elections commissions. The number of voting papers is strictly controlled by recording them in series and by authorizing protocols and acts for their transfer and use.

8) Registers elected people's deputies and persons in the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies for the entire republic, publishes reports in the press on the course of the elections and their results, confirms the power of persons elected, prepares materials for the Ukraine Supreme Soviet, resolves questions of the holding of repeat elections and the recall of elected persons, reports on the elections of people's deputies and other persons in the representative organs of the soviets to replace those removed, reviews statements and complaints about the decisions and actions of the election commissions and reaches corresponding conclusions on them, and exercises other powers in accordance with its own legal status.

Article 21. Formation of the Okrug Election Commissions and Their Powers.

1) Okrug election commissions are formed no later than the 20th day after the announcement of elections are made, and function for 5 years. Okrug commissions may be single-mandate or multiple-mandate depending on the kinds of elections—to the local soviets of people's deputies, to the Ukraine Supreme Soviet, or as USSR people's deputies.

2) Okrug election commissions carry out work to insure elections to the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies.

3) The powers of the okrug election commissions are:

a) to organize preparations for and holding of elections on the territory of the election commission and monitoring the uniform application of the laws by ward election commissions;

b) to hear reports from the executive and administrative organs of local soviets of people's deputies, public organizations, and the managers of enterprises and establishments, and also representatives of trade unions and citizens' meetings on questions concerning preparations for and the holding of elections;

c) to register contenders and candidates nominated for the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies and their agents, insure that election meetings are held with voters, involve the mass media in the election campaign, publish information on the course of the elections, and issue credentials to persons as indicated in this law;

d) to monitor the correctness of election registration and reporting documentation, confirm the form of voting papers, and monitor their preparation and proper use;

e) to review statements and complaints concerning the activity of the ward election commissions and make decisions on them.

Article 22. Ward Election Commissions and Their Powers.

1) Ward election commissions are formed no later than the 20th day after the announcement of elections are made, and function for 5 years.

2) Through its members the ward election commission takes part in the organization of and preparations for elections to the representative organs of the soviets.

3) The main element in the system of election commissions is the ward election commission which:

a) compiles lists of voters for the ward, brings it to the attention of voters, corrects and amends the voting lists, issues certificates giving the right to vote, informs the public of voting day and voting venue, insures the preparation of premises for the voting and counts the votes in elections, and provides information for the public and the mass media on the course of the elections;

b) handles registration and reporting documentation and is responsible for its quality and storage, and reviews statements and complaints on matters relating to the preparations for and holding of elections and election agitation, and makes decisions on them.

Article 23. Formation of the Electoral Okrugs and Wards.

1) The resolution on the holding of elections indicates the number of okrugs in which elections are to be held. An okrug may be single-mandate or multiple-mandate.

2) An all-Ukrainian electoral okrug is formed for the election of the president of the republic, in which elections are organized and conducted by the Ukrainian SSR Central Election Commission. The electoral wards for the election of deputies of the Ukrainian SSR simultaneously serve for the election of the president of the republic.

3) A list of election commissions indicating the boundaries and the location of okrug election commissions is published by the Ukrainian SSR Central Election Commission no later than 10 days after the announcement of elections is made.

4) A total of 450 electoral okrugs are formed for the election of deputies to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

5) For the election of deputies to the local soviets of people's deputies the Ukrainian SSR Central Election Commission forms electoral okrugs as follows:

a) for the oblast soviet, from 100 to 300 okrugs; for the Kiev city soviet, 300 okrugs; for the Sevastopol city soviet, 200 okrugs;

b) for a rayon soviet, from 50 to 100 okrugs; for a city soviet of oblast subordination, from 50 to 250 okrugs; for a city soviet of rayon subordination, from 25 to 75 okrugs; for a city rayon soviet, from 50 to 150 okrugs;

c) for a settlement or rural soviet, from 50 to 100 okrugs.

6) The period for the formation of okrugs and electoral wards is 10 days from the time the election commissions are formed.

7) The following are obliged to provide information for the electoral wards by territory: the commanders of military units and formations, and the captains of ships that will be at sea on election day, according to the location of a ship in port. Ministries of the Ukrainian SSR whose representatives are outside republic territory offer proposals on the venue and time for the holding of elections by electoral representations in the cases of the election of the president of the republic and elections to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

8) Reports on the formation of electoral wards and their boundaries, and on the locations of the ward election commissions, and on premises for voting and carrying out election work are published in the local press 60 days before elections.

9) Electoral wards are formed as a rule for 20 to 3,000 voters.

Section VI.

FORMATION AND ACTIVITY OF THE CORPS OF DEPUTIES FOR POPULAR POWER IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR

Article 24. Right To Vote on the Formation and Activity of the Corps of Deputies.

1) The right to vote on the formation and activity of the corps of deputies consists of the following stages: creation of the corps of deputies of the Ukrainian SSR through the election of people's deputies, the activity of the people's deputies through elections for the executive and administrative organs of the soviets of people's deputies, and election of leaders of the state management apparatus.

2) In order to become a people's deputy it is necessary to go through three stages; namely, as a contender for nomination as a people's deputy, as a candidate for the post of people's deputy, and election as a people's deputy.

3) The elected deputies of the local soviets of people's deputies, the deputies to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine make up the corps of deputies of the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 25. Procedural Right To Vote on the Formation and Activity of the Corps of Deputies.

1) The procedural guarantees for the exercise of voting rights on the formation and activity of the corps of deputies of the Ukrainian SSR consist of the following:

a) the right of voters to nominate contenders or themselves as candidate people's deputies;

b) the right of the winner of an election fight to be a contender for the status of candidate for the post of people's deputy and to continue with further election activity;

c) the right of a candidate for the post of people's deputy to be placed on ballot papers for voting on his nomination, and to be made aware of the voting results, and, if elected as people's deputy, to be empowered as a deputy;

d) the right of a people's deputy to make nominations or nominate himself for elected posts in the soviets of people's deputies;

e) the right of a people's deputy to elect or reject people to or from elected organs of the soviets of people's deputies, and the leaders of the organs of state power and management;

f) the right of a people's deputy to request the recall of an elected person or leader;

g) the right of a people's deputy to retire from his post or relinquish his powers as a deputy.

2) Organs of Soviet power, organizations, enterprises, and establishments, and citizens are obliged to help people's deputies in the exercise of their powers. Direct or indirect hindrance of a people's deputy in the exercise of his functions is considered a gross violation of legislation on popular power in the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 26. Procedure for the Nomination and Self-Nomination and Election Activity of Contenders as Nominees for the Posts of People's Deputies.

1) Nomination and self-nomination of contenders as candidates for the post of people's deputy begins 95 days before elections and ends 65 days before elections. Voters, labor collectives, public organizations, and citizens' meetings have the right of nomination and self-nomination. In the event of self-nomination all that is required is a public announcement at a meeting of voters or the publication of a report in the press.

2) Nomination or self-nomination of contenders as candidates for the post of people's deputy is done on the territory of the appropriate soviet.

3) After a voter has made an announcement of a nomination or self-nomination as contender as candidate for the post of people's deputy, he submits a written statement and documents confirming the fact of the statement to the okrug election commission for registration and the commission is obliged to make the registration and issue to the voter the credentials of a contender as candidate for the post of people's deputy. From this time on the contender has the right to engage in election agitation and other activity concerning the election. The okrug election commission compiles a list of contenders and publishes it.

Article 27. Election Activity of a Candidate for the Post of People's Deputy.

1) In order for a contender to become a candidate for the post of people's deputy he must gain the following numbers of votes (signatures):

a) for election to the post of USSR people's deputy from the Ukraine, 2,000 votes;

b) for election as people's deputy in the oblast soviets and the Kiev and Sevastopol city soviets of people's deputies, 500 votes;

c) for election to the post of people's deputy in soviets of people's deputies of oblast subordination, 400 votes;

d) for election to the rayon soviets of people's deputies, 300 votes;

e) for election to the post of deputy in the rural and settlement soviets of people's deputies, from 50 to 100 votes by agreement with the okrug election commissions.

2) If the necessary number of votes is collected by fewer than two contenders, the period for the formation of the corps of candidates is extended.

3) A contender who has collected the necessary number of votes goes to the okrug election commission with a written statement of his registration as a candidate for the post of people's deputy. The authenticity of the signatures is checked by the election commission at its own initiative or on the basis of statements and complaints.

4) Only violation of this law can be grounds for refusal to register a candidate for the post of people's deputy.

5) Refusal to register can be appealed within 2 days by voters or candidates in a people's court or to a higher election commission.

6) The okrug election commission publishes a report in the press on the registered candidates for the representative organs of the soviets of people's deputies no later than 3 days after the end of the registration period, indicating the name, family name and patronymic, party status, date of birth, post occupied (or employment), work place and place of residence of each candidate.

7) A candidate who is a deputy of two other soviets of people's deputies must submit a written statement indicating his intention to relinquish his powers in one of the soviets of people's deputies, or withdrawing his nomination.

8) After registration of candidates for the post of people's deputy and publication of the lists, the okrug election commission includes the candidates on the voting papers for the secret ballot.

Section VII

FUNDAMENTAL GUARANTEES FOR THE ACTIVITY OF CONTENDERS AND CANDIDATES FOR THE POST OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTY OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

Article 28. The Right of Contenders and Candidates for the Post of People's Deputy To Speak at Meetings and Make Use of the Mass Media.

1) After registration with the okrug election commission a contender or candidate for the post of people's deputy has the right to conduct an election campaign, engage in agitation for his election as a deputy, and present his interests in the mutual relations with state and public organs, voters, and the members of public organizations and movements, and also in the election commissions.

2) A candidate for the post of people's deputy appoints agents for himself at his own discretion and with their agreement, and notifies the okrug election commission about them for registration. The election commission registers agents within a 3-day period and after registration issues them with credentials.

3) An agent may not be a member of an election commission.

4) At the request of a candidate for the post of people's deputy, with his agreement an agent may for a time carry out assignments connected with the preparations for and holding of the elections and organize agitation work, and be released from fulfillment of production or service duties on full pay using funds allocated for the holding of the elections.

Article 30. Election Agitation.

1) Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, public organizations and movements, and labor collectives are guaranteed the opportunity for free and comprehensive discussion of the political, business, and personal qualities of candidates for the post of people's deputy, and also the right to engage in agitation "for" or "against" a candidate for the post of people's deputy, in the press and on television and radio.

2) The election commissions organize provision of appropriately equipped premises in which to hold election gatherings, conferences, and meetings, and also equal opportunities for contenders and candidates for systematic election agitation using all the mass media.

3) Contenders and candidates for the post of people's deputy have meetings with their voters in a form convenient for them. Meetings are organized by contenders and candidates' agents jointly with the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies, public organizations and movements, voluntary associations and societies, labor collectives, and voters' groups at places of residence. Voters are notified of the time and venue of gatherings and meetings in good time through the media.

4) Agitation is not permitted on election day except for printed materials posted beforehand.

Article 31. Release of Candidates for the Post of People's Deputy From Production or Services Duties in Order To Participate in Election Arrangements.

1) After registration in the okrug election commission a candidate for the post of people's deputy is released from production and service duties at his request to hold meetings with voters, speak at election gatherings and meetings and on radio and television, and receives his average wages, which are paid from the funds allocated for the holding of the elections.

2) Candidates for the post of people's deputy of the Ukrainian SSR have the right of free travel on all kinds of public transport (except taxicabs) within the boundaries of the electoral okrug.

Article 32. Inviolability of Candidates for the Post of People's Deputy.

1) Candidates for the post of people's deputy cannot be held criminally liable or arrested, nor may a court impose measures of administrative censure on him without the agreement of the okrug election commission.

2) In the event of any threat to the personal safety of a candidate for the post of people's deputy or the members of his family, or to the inviolability of his property, the law enforcement agencies shall at his request provide the necessary security.

Section VIII

PROCEDURE FOR HOLDING ELECTIONS AND VOTING RETURNS

Article 33. The Timing of Elections and the Voting Place.

1) In elections of people's deputies to the Ukrainian SSR voting is carried out only on voting day between 0700 hours and 2200 hours. The election commission informs voters of the time and place of voting no later than 15 days before the elections.

2) A voter who is temporarily absent from his own place of residence during the period following the start of universal familiarization with the voting lists and is absent on voting day may request voting papers from the ward election commission for his place of residence, make his decision with respect to the candidates for the post of people's deputy, and leave his completed voting paper in a sealed container in the ward election commission. On voting day the envelope is opened by members of the ward election commission and added to the other voting papers in the voting.

Article 34. The Voting Paper.

1) The voting paper contains in alphabetical order all candidates registered for the post of people's deputy, including the name, family name, and patronymic, post occupied (employment), party status, place of work and residence of each candidate for the post of people's deputy.

2) In order to insure equal conditions for voters in the secret ballot, opposite the family name and information

about the candidates the words "for" and "against" are printed, and the voter strikes out the one not required.

3) Printing of voting papers is organized by the Central Election Commission of the Ukrainian SSR.

4) Voting papers are printed in Ukrainian.

5) Voting papers are passed to the ward election commissions no later than 5 days before election day.

Article 35. Procedure for Completing the Voting Paper.

1) Voting papers are completed by the voter in a booth set aside for the secret ballot. When a voting paper is being completed no one except the voter may be present. A voter who is unable himself to complete the voting paper independently has the right to ask another person to accompany him to the voting booth at his own discretion, with the exception of any member of the election commission.

2) After the voting paper has been completed the voter casts his vote by placing the voting paper in a sealed ballot box.

Article 36. Voting.

1) At each electoral ward voting takes place on premises especially set aside for that purpose at which there should be a voting booth for secret ballot, a place for issuing voting papers, and the ballot boxes, which are set up in such a way that when voters approach them they must necessarily have passed through the voting booth.

2) Responsibility for the organization of voting, insuring the confidentiality of the will of voters, equipment for the premises, and maintaining proper order on the premises rests with the ward election commission.

3) Before the start of voting the chairman of the ward election commission checks the ballot boxes and seals them in the presence of all members of the commission.

4) Each voter votes personally. Voting papers are issued to the voter by the ward election commission on the basis of the voters' list upon presentation of a passport or other document authenticating the individual and his place of residence. When he receives his voting paper a voter sings his name on the voters' list.

5) Voters who through error are not included on the voters' list are included in an appendix to the voters' list upon presentation of documents authenticating the individual and his place of residence.

6) As an exception, at the request of particular voters who for reasons of health or some other valid reason are unable personally to be present on the premises set aside for the voting, the ward election commission may assign at least two members of the commission together to organize voting at the place where those voters are on the basis of an additional list compiled for them.

7) Agents of candidates and representatives of labor collectives and the press have the right to be present at all voting procedures.

Article 37. Returns on the Voting in the Electoral Ward.

1) The ward election commission counts the votes individually for every candidate deputy.

2) The ballot boxes are unsealed by the ward election commission after the end of the voting. The unsealing of ballot boxes before the end of voting is prohibited. Before ballot boxes are unsealed all voting papers not issued to voters should be canceled by the ward election commission. After that a count is made of the voting papers placed in ballot boxes outside the premises set aside for the voting. Agents of the candidates and representatives of the labor collectives and press have the right to be present when the ballot boxes are unsealed.

3) The ward election commission establishes the total number of voters in the electoral okrug or electoral ward from the voters' list and the appendices to it, and also from the number of voters who have voted "for" or "against" each candidate deputy and the number of voting papers deemed to be damaged.

4) Voting papers on which during the voting more than one candidate per mandate has been left are deemed to be damaged. In the event of doubt about the validity of a voting paper the question is resolved by the ward election commission by vote.

5) The results of the count are reviewed at a meeting of the ward election commission and entered into the record compiled for each mandate. The record is completed in India ink, ink, or ball-point pen and is signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission and sent to the appropriate okrug election commission. Special opinions of members of the commission, and statements and complaints received by the commission relating to violations that have taken place during the course of the voting are attached to the record; a document is drawn up in the event of the lead seal or seal on the ballot box being broken.

Article 38. Establishing the Results of Elections for an Electoral Okrug.

1) On the basis of the records of the ward election commissions, the okrug election commission determines the following: the total number of voters in the okrug, the number of voters receiving voting papers, the number of voters taking part in the election, the number of votes cast "for" and "against" each candidate deputy, and the number of voting papers deemed to be damaged.

A candidate who has received more than 50 percent of electors' votes is considered to be elected as a people's deputy if more than half of the voters in the electoral okrug took part in the election.

2) Elections are deemed to be void if less than half of the voters included in the voters' list have taken part.

3) The results of elections for the electoral okrug are determined at a meeting of the okrug election commission and are entered into the record. The record is signed by the chairman and his deputy, the secretary, and the members of the commission and submitted in accordance with procedure to the Central Election Commission of the Ukrainian SSR.

4) A report on the results of the elections for the electoral okrug is published in the local press within 3 days. The report indicates the following: the total number of citizens included in the voters' lists, the number of voters taking part in the elections, the number of votes cast "for" and "against" each candidate, the number of damaged voting papers, and the name, family name, and patronymic, post occupied (employment), party status, and place of work and residence of the deputies elected.

5) Special opinions of members of the councils of ministers and statements and complaints received by the election commission relating to violations that have taken place during the course of the voting, the vote counting, or in determining the results are attached to the record. The okrug election commission submits the record of the results to the Central Election Commission of the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 39. Registration of Deputies.

1) The Central Election Commission registers those elected as people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR according to the elections for people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR on the basis of the records submitted to it by the election commissions.

2) The Central Election Commission may deem the elections invalid if during the course of the voting or the vote counting or in determining the election results there were violations of this Law, and refuse to register a people's deputy of the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 40. Run-offs and Repeat Elections

1) If none of the candidates for an electoral okrug is elected when there are more than two candidates, the okrug election commission will decide to hold a run-off in the okrug for the two candidates who received the greatest number of votes. The okrug election commission reports this decision to the Central Election Commission and informs the voters in the okrug. The run-off in an electoral okrug takes place within a week.

2) In a run-off the candidate who receives a simple majority of electors' votes is deemed to be elected as people's deputy.

3) If neither of the candidates for an electoral okrug with two candidates is elected, or if the elections are deemed void, then repeat elections are held.

4) Repeat elections are held in accordance with the requirements of this law, but the period of the election campaign may be reduced if the Central Election Commission of the Ukrainian SSR so decides. Elections for the seat of a former deputy are held under the same procedure.

Article 41. Issuing the Credentials of a People's Deputy of the Ukrainian SSR.

After publication in the press of the list of people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR registered by the Central Election Commission, the okrug election commission issues each elected people's deputy with credentials of his powers as a representative of the people.

Section IX

THE CONGRESS OF AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVES OF POPULAR POWER IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR. ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC AND OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

Article 42. The Electoral Right of the Congress of Authorized Representatives of Popular Power in the Ukrainian SSR.

1) Within the 10-day period following the completion of elections for people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR, the Central Election Commission of the Ukrainian SSR shall report the convening of the Congress of Authorized Representatives of Popular Power in the Ukrainian SSR, which should begin its work no later than 30 days after the announcement that it is to be convened.

2) The following are delegated to the Congress of Authorized Representatives of Popular Power in the Ukrainian SSR: 262 people's deputies of the USSR from the Ukraine, 450 deputies of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, 25 deputies of the oblast soviets of people's deputies, 737 deputies of city, rayon, settlement, and rural soviets of people's deputies.

3) At the first session of the Congress of Authorized Representatives of Popular Power in the Ukrainian SSR, the Central Election Commission of the Ukrainian SSR reports on the results of the elections of people's deputies and introduces a proposal confirming the results and on procedure for electing the president of the republic.

4) The following matters are considered by the Congress of Authorized Representatives of Popular Power in the Ukrainian SSR:

a) election of a working organ for the congress—a Presidium of the Congress of Authorized Representatives of Popular Power in the Ukrainian SSR;

b) election of a Credentials Commission for the congress;

c) procedure and period for the election of a president of the Ukrainian SSR;

d) election of a Ukrainian SSR Constitution Court.

5) After adoption of the proposal by the Congress of Authorized Representatives of Popular Power in the Ukrainian SSR, the Central Election Commission of the Ukrainian SSR publishes a report and reaches a decision on the formation of an All-Ukrainian Territorial Okrug to hold elections for the post of president of the republic.

Article 43. Procedure and Period for Election of the President of the Ukrainian SSR.

1) The electoral right on elect of a president of the republic is made up of the following procedural actions: election of USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine and of deputies to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, election of contenders for the post of president of the republic, formation of a group of candidates for the post of president of the republic, election of the president of the republic.

2) Election of the president of the republic is held on the principles of universal, equal, and direct voting rights in a secret ballot on an alternative basis, with at least two candidates for the post of president of the republic included on the voting papers.

3) Contenders for the post of president of the republic are chosen from among the USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine and the deputies to the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

4) Nomination of contenders for the post of president of the republic may be made by any member of the congress and also by means of nomination and self-nomination of USSR people's deputies from the Ukraine and deputies of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. Any person who obtains at least one-third of the votes of members of the congress may be a contender.

5) When contenders as candidates for the post of president of the republic are chosen they are registered in the Central Election Commission of the Ukrainian SSR, after which an election campaign is waged in accordance with the requirements of this law.

6) Contenders and candidates for the post of president of the republic have the right to appoint up to 30 agents.

7) In order to become a candidate for the post of president of the republic it is necessary to collect 150,000 votes (signatures) from voters in the Ukrainian SSR.

8) A contender who has collected this number of votes is registered with the Central Election Commission of the Ukrainian SSR and is issued credentials authenticating him as a candidate for the post of president of the republic.

9) The Central Election Commission of the Ukrainian SSR publishes in the press and reports through the other mass media information on the number of candidates for the post of president of the republic, and provides other necessary information about the candidates, and places them on the voting papers as candidates. Voting in the election of the president of the republic takes place under the conditions laid down by this law. After the voting has taken place the Central Election Commission of the Ukrainian SSR counts the votes, issues the voting returns, and announces who has been elected as president of the Ukrainian SSR.

10) The president of the republic takes an oath of loyalty in service to the people.

Article 44. Election of the Constitutional Court of the Ukrainian SSR.

1) The Constitutional Court of the Ukrainian SSR is elected from among the people's deputies of the Congress of Authorized Representatives of Popular Power in the Ukrainian SSR by secret ballot, on an alternative basis, for a period of 10 years.

2) Fifteen members are elected to the Constitutional Court of the Ukrainian SSR and they enjoy equal rights and carry out in turn the duties of chairman at meetings of the Constitutional Court of the Ukrainian SSR.

3) The people's deputies elected as members of the Constitutional Court of the Ukrainian SSR should have had at least 5 years of practical work in law enforcement agencies in the posts of judges, investigators, and procurators, or their deputies, or the same period of work in party commissions, the organs of people's control, environmental protection, or arbitration. If a deputy possesses a scientific degree, 3 years of seniority in a particular specialty are sufficient.

4) Members of the Constitutional Court of the Ukrainian SSR take an oath of loyalty to the people and to the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR to the Congress of Authorized representatives of Popular Power in the Ukrainian SSR.

5) The subject of the activity engaged in by the Constitutional Court of the Ukrainian SSR is interpretation of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution, the exercise of constitutional oversight over observance of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution by all citizens and other persons, and adopting legislation in line with the Constitution.

6) Liability on the part of members of the Constitutional Court of the Ukrainian SSR is with the agreement of the Congress of Authorized Representatives of Popular Power in the Ukrainian SSR. Lack of confidence in a member of the Constitutional Court of the Ukrainian SSR may be expressed by the president of the republic and the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, and by a majority vote in the Constitutional Court of the Ukrainian SSR. The recall of a member of the Constitutional Court is approved by the Congress of Authorized representatives of Popular Power in the Ukrainian SSR. The president of the republic may remove a member from the execution of his duties before a recall.

7) The commission of a crime by a member of the Constitutional Court of the Ukrainian SSR associated with the execution of his duties is deemed to be a crime against the state.

Section X

EXERCISE OF ELECTORAL RIGHT BY THE UKRAINIAN SSR SUPREME SOVIET AND THE LOCAL SOVIETS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

Article 45. Electoral Right of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

1) The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet observes the fundamentals of electoral right in the formation of the organizational structure of the organs of popular power. The following are elected by secret ballot on an alternative basis at a session of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet: first deputy president of the republic (vice president), the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, the chairmen of the standing commissions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court, the chief state arbiter, the Ukrainian SSR procurator, the Ukrainian SSR minister of justice, the Ukrainian SSR minister of internal affairs, the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Committee of State Security, the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Committee for Environmental Protection, the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR People's Control Committee, the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and the chief editor of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet newspaper.

2) Members of standing and other commissions of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and judges of the oblast courts and the Kiev city court are elected by secret ballot or show of hands at the discretion of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 46. Electoral Right of Local Soviets of People's Deputies.

1) Local soviets of people's deputies elect the following at their meetings: the chairman of the soviets of people's deputies executive committee and his first deputy, members of the executive committee, and the chairmen and members of commissions and other representative organs of popular power.

2) Election of the chairman and first deputy chairman of the executive committees of soviets of people's deputies is by secret ballot on an alternative basis. Election of other persons in the representative organs may be by secret ballot or show of hands.

Section XI

LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIOLATION OF THE LAW ON ELECTIONS FOR POPULAR POWER IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR

Article 47. Grounds for Legal Responsibility.

1) An action committed directly or indirectly for the purpose of limiting or depriving of electoral rights citizens, people's deputies, or representative organs of popular power in the Ukrainian SSR at variance with the Ukrainian SSR Constitution and legislation on elections in the Ukrainian SSR is a crime against the state.

2) There is no limitation of statute with regard to the commission of a crime in the field of electoral rights in the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 48. Kinds of Legal Responsibility.

1) Depending on the severity of the crime committed, guilty parties shall be held legally responsible as follows: disciplinary, administrative, civil (material), and criminal.

2) Liability for any particular kind of legal responsibility shall be strictly in accordance with existing legislation.

The concept of this law is based on international legal experience in guaranteeing human rights and is a guarantee of the exercise of the freedoms of each citizen and the people of the republic.
[signed] USSR People's Deputies V. Grishchuk, A. Nazarenko, Yu. Sorochik, V. Chernyak, V. Yaborivskiy, A. Yaroshinskaya, and commission member A. Kotsyuba. 1 September 1989.

Vlasov RSFSR Supreme Soviet Report 27 Oct

PM3110163989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Oct 89 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "On Principles of Self-Management and Self-Financing. Report by A.V. Vlasov, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers" and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at afternoon sitting of 11th session of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation, in Moscow on 27 October]

[Text] Comrade deputies: The issues of expanding the sovereign rights of union republics, of territories transferring to the principles of self-management and self-financing are presently the focus of public attention. An increase in the regions' involvement, independence, and responsibility for accelerating socioeconomic development and for enhancing the effectiveness of public sector production is correctly linked with resolving these issues. This is one of the most important tasks of the current, exceptionally complex stage of perestroyka.

As is known, the new methods of territorial management represent an organic constituent part of the radical economic reform initiated by the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum decisions. Large-scale work to implement them is under way in the republic. Moreover, our main efforts are concentrated on the main link in the economy: enterprises and associations.

Currently, they all have been transferred onto various models of economic accountability. Leasehold relations are becoming ever more widespread, albeit not without difficulties. As of 1 October this year, approximately 10 percent of industrial enterprises and associations and 30 percent of construction trusts were operating under normative income distribution conditions and on a leasehold basis. In the agro-industrial complex, 1,200 collective and state farms have gone over completely to leasehold relations, with 14,400 applying these relations partially.

The rate of labor productivity growth has gone up at these enterprises; expenditure per ruble's worth of commodity output has gone down; and the scale of work to reconstruct and retool production facilities has been expanded. Contract commitments are fulfilled here more strictly. The rate of output production volume growth is two to three times higher.

Measures are being taken to restructure planning, material and technical supplies, and the finance and credit mechanism. The activities of ministries and departments will be further improved and various types of associations will be set up during the implementation of the general management scheme in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. Work has begun to set up new organizational-economic structures: associations, concerns, and consortiums.

Naturally, we understand that we are only at the beginning of our journey. The reform is proceeding with difficulties and, at times, in a contradictory manner. It has so far failed to yield the desired results. Moreover, certain problems have even exacerbated.

One of the reasons for this is seen in the fact that we have not succeeded in implementing one of the most important principles of the reform—the combination of sector and territorial planning and management. Moreover, a result of enterprises going over to full economic accountability was that the gulf between the interests of labor collectives and those of territories grew bigger. The question of solving the problem of social infrastructure and of supplying the population with foodstuffs, goods, and services has become even more difficult.

The exacerbated situation and the search for a way out of it have objectively brought closer the transfer of republics and regions to the principles of economic accountability. It should be recalled that this idea was first reflected in the documents of the 19th party conference. Subsequently, it was further developed and rendered more specific in the draft laws on the general principles of management of the economy and the social sphere in union republics, and also on the general principles of local self-management and local economy.

Republican bodies, the councils of ministers of autonomous republics, and oblast and kray soviet executive committees in the Russian Federation took an active part in preparing these drafts. They were engendered in a struggle of opinions, in the clash between differing and at times diametrically opposite concepts of territorial financial autonomy. The drafts have now, as we know, become the subject of heated discussions in the USSR Supreme Soviet too.

The transition to self-management and self-financing is of exceptional significance for Russia.

Our viewpoint consists, first and foremost, in enhancing the autonomy and responsibility of republic and local bodies for everything that is concerned with satisfying people's requirements and needs. Taking into account the diversity of local conditions and the multinational composition of the population, a special significance is assumed, as far as we are concerned, by the well-known truth that by no means everything is visible from the center, and that many problems are much better solved at local level.

It is important to create an economic mechanism whereby territorial organs are interested in the efficient operation of all enterprises located in their region while sectors, for their part, obtain real returns from their contribution to the comprehensive development of oblasts, cities, and rayons. It is ultimately a question of sensible decentralization, a clear-cut demarcation of powers, rights, and obligations at various levels of management, and the best possible combination of territorial and sectorial management principles.

Our efforts are now concentrated on shaping the regional economic accountability mechanism. It is based on the principled provisions of the draft general principles of self-management and self-financing. In our opinion, these principles are really common to both the republic and the regions, ensuring uniform approaches to the forms and methods of territorial economic management at all levels. Thus interlinked, these drafts are now being examined by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

I must say that the elaboration of the new territorial management mechanism for the RSFSR is an exceptionally complex matter. We simply cannot make any mistakes or hasty and ill-considered decisions because we are aware of our major responsibility for their consequences not only for the Russian Federation but also for the entire country.

One of the central questions here is the creation of a new financial planning system. It will be based on the principle that the volume of resources channeled into the economic and social development of the republic and the regions is directly dependent on the results of activity by enterprises and organizations located on their territory.

In other words, it is a question of funds being earned and providing the basis for social justice. In this process, we must of course take all-union interests and the interests of the whole people into account. As regards attempts to arrive at justice via reciprocal complaints between republics and oblasts about past deformations, this is a hopeless path leading into a blind alley.

While solving the question of the Russian Federation's transition to territorial self-financing, we will have to take most careful account of its specific features—primarily the fact that a major proportion of the country's economic, scientific, and technical potential is concentrated in Russia and is being utilized mainly for the solution of all-union tasks. For objective reasons, our economy has specialized in the development of Group "A" sectors, which now account for more than three-fourths of all industrial output. Some 72 percent of this output is produced by enterprises under union jurisdiction. This is one of the highest levels in the USSR.

This structure of the RSFSR's national economy predetermines the fact that capital- and labor-intensiveness are higher than in other union republics and reduces the economy's efficiency. For example, profitability in heavy industry sectors is one-half that in light industry, declining to one-third in the fuel and energy complex.

This specific feature must be taken into account when forming the Russian Federation's budget. In our view, we will need higher deductions normatives in order to create conditions primarily favoring the accelerated development of consumer goods production. Especially since we are an importing republic in terms of many categories of Group "B" products.

The relatively small share of the nonproduction sphere in the total volume of capital investments is another of the Russian Federation's specific features. At present it accounts for 29 percent, whereas this indicator is considerably higher in a number of other republics.

This fact is largely associated with the inadequate amount of money channeled into the development of the social and consumer services spheres mainly by union ministries and departments. We believe that this must also be taken into account when elaborating the normative base for forming the republic's budget.

Here is another important peculiarity. Almost two-thirds of the republic's territory is in the zone of the far north or equivalent regions. Gigantic reserves of natural resources, which it is of great importance for the whole country to bring into economic circulation, are concentrated there. However, the severity of natural and climatic conditions and the remoteness from developed regions causes a significant increase in the cost of building and operating enterprises and facilities of the social sphere in that zone. For example, expenditure on the construction of one square meter of housing in the regions of Siberia is 1.5 times the cost in the European part of the country and almost double the cost in the Far East.

The intensive development of new regions is inconceivable without concentrating the efforts of all union republics. For this purpose, it will obviously be necessary to create special centralized union funds.

We have submitted proposals to union organs on all the fundamental questions connected with the peculiarities of forming the RSFSR budget, including the review of wholesale prices for raw material resources, which alone make it possible for the republic to go over to exchange on a basis of equal value. The elaboration of a self-financing mechanism in the RSFSR depends to a great degree on the solution of these issues.

We also face similar problems in forming a self-financing mechanism for oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics. Here it is also necessary to take into account the prevailing differences in "starting" positions and primarily the nonuniform level of the economic potential created in them. Suffice it to say that the gap between highest and lowest per-capita indicators among the regions is sevenfold for production of national income, tenfold for the manufacture of industrial commodity output and gross agricultural output, and 4.7 times for the profitability level of industrial production.

Sharp and sometimes multiple differences between regions have also developed in the provision of social and consumer services facilities. Calculated per capita, such differences amount to approximately 2 times for provision of housing, 3.7 times for children's preschool establishments, and tens of times for the emission of harmful substances.

An extremely serious ecological situation has developed in many regions, cities, and workers' settlements in the republic. To improve it, alongside targeted allocations from ministries and departments, we also need additional budgetary resources making it possible to compensate to some degree for the unfavorable conditions in which the population lives. This also means special funds, including risk funds against unforeseen emergency situations. Such measures also should be envisaged when siting new, ecologically dangerous production facilities.

It is also important to take into account the specific character of the development of production forces in the various oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics. For instance, 30 of our territories specialize primarily in producing means of production, and there is a virtual absence of light industry in a number of them. There are regions predominantly engaged in agriculture; at the same time, 32 territories do not cover with their own output the level of current meat consumption, and 41 do not cover milk and dairy products.

Besides, it should be borne in mind that expenditure exceeds revenue in 30 regions of Russia. The economy in some of them is consistently in need of subsidies. Such territories include the Dagestan, Kalmyk, Tuva, and Yakut Autonomous Republics, and Magadan and Kamchatka Oblasts.

In Magadan Oblast, for instance, budget revenue is reckoned at R1.7 billion, while expenditure is R2 billion. In Yakutia, expenditure exceeds revenue by more than R500 million.

At the same time, quite a number of regions contribute substantial sums of many billions to the union and republic budgets, but lag noticeably behind other regions in the development of their social spheres. This applies, in particular, to Kemerovo, Tyumen, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, and certain other oblasts, where the level of housing, kindergartens, and cultural and health establishments provided the population is noticeably lower than the RSFSR average.

These facts indicate that the standardized, leveling approach to territorial self-financing in the RSFSR's conditions is totally unacceptable. In this respect, we agree with the views of Deputies Politov, Romanov, Serokurov, and others. Here we will have to seek different options and, I would say, specific models for the formation of local budgets.

In the course of elaborating the regional self-financing mechanism, we firmly took the view that it could only be implemented on the basis of stable sources and stable, long-term normatives. It should be stressed in particular that the formation of local budgets must proceed, as a rule, without additional allocations from the union or republic budgets. It would be incorrect, and indeed unfair, to give advantages to some territories at the expense of others.

At the same time, we still will have a duty to partially redistribute budget resources to boost the population's living conditions in a number of territories that, for one reason or another, have fallen behind in their social development. This will require the creation of special compensatory mechanisms designed to ensure a leveling of the regions' "starting" conditions. Naturally, these mechanisms also must incorporate the additional resources specified by the well-known resolutions on the Non-Chernozem Zone, the Far East, and Murmansk and other oblasts.

This approach probably should be employed within the oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics as well.

Taking all this into account, practical recommendations have now been drawn up in the republic for elaborating statements showing spare financial balances for each territory. It is our view that this will make it possible to fix the proportions for the distribution of resources among the union, republic, and local management organs and to create all the necessary conditions for the optimum combination of statewide and regional interests.

Now about the expansion of self-management principles as the other component part of the regions' transition to new principles of territorial economic management. I am referring primarily to a package of measures aimed at raising local soviets' autonomy and responsibility. They should be endowed with rights and economic levers enabling them to ensure the integrated socioeconomic development of the territories under their jurisdiction.

One of the main features here is placing enterprises and organizations of union and republic subordination under the management of republican and local organs. This means enterprises whose output is earmarked primarily for satisfying the needs of the population of a particular territory.

The meaning of such a handover lies in bringing management closer to enterprises and associations with a view to raising the efficiency of their work. In doing so, of course, the interests of the labor collectives must be observed without fail. Without their agreement, the enterprises may not be handed over from one jurisdiction to another. This is the main rule.

As you know, the agro-industrial complex, enterprises of the construction and construction materials industries, the trade network, and the light industry were placed under the management of the RSFSR Council of Ministers this year. Moreover, the production infrastructure of regional significance and a few intersector production units are being brought under the management of the Russian Federation. As a result, according to preliminary calculations, the proportion of industry under republic jurisdiction will increase from 4 to 27 percent.

At the same time, the placing of enterprises of the agro-industrial complex, the local and fuel industries, and also housing, public utilities, consumer services, and so on under the direct management of local soviets will be implemented more vigorously. Favorable opportunities will thus be created for more integrated socioeconomic development of territories and the transition to self-sufficiency in many kinds of output.

I must say outright, Comrades, that the development of the new economic management mechanism is something absolutely new and needs thorough vetting. It is for this reason that the decision was made regarding the stage-by-stage transition of RSFSR regions to the principles of self-financing and self-management.

From 1 January 1990, the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR], Sverdlovsk and Kemerovo Oblasts, and the City of Moscow will change over to these principles. Vologda, Volgograd, Kuybyshev, Moscow, Tomsk, and Chelyabinsk Oblasts have also put forward their proposals. Twenty more regions have started preparations. The republic's government supports such an initiative. The diversity of experience will also enable other territories to prepare better for the transition to the new methods of management.

Development of the concept of management of the economy and the social sphere in the republic as a whole is being conducted at the same time. A search is under way today for the optimum model of management to which the RSFSR can switch from the start of the 13th 5-Year Plan Period.

Economic departments, the Siberian, Urals, and Far Eastern branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences, some institutes, and representatives of the public are involved in all this work. Methodological assistance is being given to the territories by republican bodies and the RSFSR Council of Ministers' Commission for Improving the Economic Mechanism. Each regional project undergoes serious expert examination.

So far, documents on Tataria and Sverdlovsk Oblast, as well as on Kemerovo, Chelyabinsk, and Vologda Oblasts have been examined in the Council of Ministers. At its session the other day, the Moscow City Soviet discussed the main provisions for the introduction of relations of economic accountability and the development of self-management in the city. The final decision on these matters will be adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers.

In the documents drawn up, it is deemed expedient for the local soviets to compile and ratify socioeconomic development plans for their territory themselves on the basis of control figures, state orders, and long-term economic normatives and limits. It is intended that they be permitted to set output production targets in excess of state orders and to render various services to all enterprises, irrespective of the department to which they are subordinate. Local soviet bodies are also being granted the right to attract additional financial resources and set up funds outside the budget, and to increase expenditure on maintaining establishments in the sociocultural sphere. They have increasing opportunities in the area of price formation and in tackling a range of other issues.

Study of the documents has made it possible, for the most part, to come to a decision on the specific sources and normatives for the formation of local budgets, making it possible to ensure territorial self-financing. In particular, it is envisioned that payments from the profits of subordinate enterprises and organizations, money paid by enterprises for water, land, and labor resources, and also revenue from local taxes and duties levied on the population will be left fully at the disposal of the localities.

As for such sources as turnover tax and payments from the profits of enterprises subordinate to the union or republic, there are very substantial variations here, allowing for a territory's specific features. Deductions from turnover tax vary from 6 to 80 percent, while payments from profits vary from 10 to 50 percent. Considerable differentiation is being considered for some other sources of local budget income as well.

Noticeable differences have also emerged as regards the range of enterprises and organizations being handed over to local organs.

Overall, Comrades, the general outline is already emerging of a model for transfer of the territories to the principles of self-financing and self-management. Of course, there are still quite a few "blank spots" remaining. In particular, it still is not completely clear how this model should be applied to autonomous oblasts, okrugs, and national rayons. Much here is going to depend on the enshrinement in legislation of the provisions of the CPSU platform on the status of these national-territorial formations.

It is worth dwelling especially on certain disturbing points that were encountered while preparing for the transition to the new methods of territorial management. Above all, the proposals from the localities are distinctly showing a consumerist tendency, a desire to obtain the most favorable terms possible for themselves and to redistribute the union and republic budget to their advantage.

The Tatar ASSR and Vologda Oblast, for instance request a R300 million increase in the volume of resources allocated from centralized funds; Chelyabinsk Oblast requests a R400 million increase; and Sverdlovsk Oblast, a R200 million increase, or between 10 and 20 percent of the budget volumes for those regions this year. One gets the impression that in this neither the country's interests, nor Russia's interests, are in any way taken into account, to say nothing of the regions which will end up at the "tail-end of the line," as it were.

Similar tendencies are also making themselves felt in the efforts by some local bodies to "get their hands on" the greatest possible number of enterprises of union and republic importance. For example, Kemerovo Oblast Soviet Executive Committee insists that more than 120 such enterprises be transferred under its jurisdiction.

It is noteworthy that local soviet organs, as a rule, do not suggest any practical measures to safeguard the forward-moving development of the enterprises themselves or the introduction of scientific and technological achievements and new forms of economic management. Unfortunately, some people at present look at the subordination of enterprises in the old, familiar sense—as having the right to command them.

We are already encountering cases when the local bodies, without taking labor collectives' views into account, compel enterprises to alter their production profile, directing them toward satisfying merely the regional requirements. Here the ties that have become established with the enterprises of other regions are, not infrequently, ignored along with technological potential and even economic expediency.

There are more and more instances when enterprises are charged arbitrary fees for labor and natural resources. Thus, the Ufa City Soviet has set the payment per hectare of land for all developers at R80,000. Apart from that, a tax has been introduced in Bashkiria's capital payable by enterprises, organizations, and cooperatives for taking new people on and for having those out of town registered and amounting to R9,718 per person. In Cheboksary, enterprises and organizations are obliged to pay into the city coffers R12,200 per worker recruited from outside. The figure in Nizhniy Tagil—taking into account the family coefficient—is neither more nor less than R25,600. In fact, as provided for in the Law on the State Enterprise, all these questions ought to be resolved on a legal basis and according to the established norms.

During examination of the proposal to have territories transferred to self-financing and self-management, we have also encountered instances when—by-passing the

Law on the State Enterprise—local authorities strive to arrogate to themselves the right to dispose of output that is produced.

The Tatar ASSR Council of Ministers, for example, lays claim to the entire increase in output produced by enterprises under union or republic jurisdiction. It is not difficult to imagine the consequences of such parochial demands for the national economic complex of the country. At present Tataria produces almost three-fourths of the all-union volume of butyl rubber, one-half of cine and photographic materials, more than one-fourth of polyethylene, 17 percent of motor vehicle tires, 10 percent of trucks, and so on. And yet the economic potential attained by a republic or any other region is the result of the joint toil of all peoples of the Soviet Union.

When fiscal interests are regarded as being of paramount importance, departmental diktat is inevitably aggravated by local diktat. Moreover, when meeting with working people, it is said frankly that "oblast" diktat is far worse than "ministerial" diktat. How can one fail to remember Lenin's words here to the effect that "local bureaucracy with local influence is the worst barrier between the working people and the authorities."

In this connection, it should be stressed again and again that the entire restructuring of management, including the changeover of territories to principles of self-management and self-financing, is designed above all to ensure a high degree of economic autonomy for enterprises as the main link of our economic management system. Strict adherence to the requirements of the Law on the State Enterprise is of fundamental importance. I would like to support what Comrade Toropov from Kovrov city said in his speech to our session: "We workers are wholeheartedly in favor of economic accountability, but in the first place, in favor of economic accountability at each work station, where the producer is the main figure. This is because everything has to be produced in the first place. However, many people today only want to take a share."

In general, Comrades, enthusiasm for the idea of regional economic accountability from a purely distributive position contains within it autarkic tendencies. The development of these can lead to a disruption of the objective processes of the socialization of production, the all-union division of labor, and within it, specialization and production sharing.

I must say that, unfortunately, the inclination toward regional isolation is becoming a reality. The disruption of prevailing economic ties is being felt increasingly painfully. The scale of spontaneous barter trade among territories is increasing, as are attempts to solve local problems by selling off, even abroad, raw material resources and even output that is in short supply. I would say that all this represents a manifestation of regional egoism and a desire to evade one's obligations to the country and the republic.

Some people are already taking the idea of territorial economic accountability to an absurd extent, passing it off as a kind of salutary recipe to emerge from the crisis situation in which we find ourselves. If republics or regions actually embark on the slippery path of "total economic independence," this will inevitably lead to the disintegration of the country's unified national economic complex.

In turn, it is not difficult to guess that such a course of events would boomerang on each republic, kray, or oblast, and that emotional euphoria would inevitably be followed by a serious sobering up. This must not be forgotten by the theoreticians and propagandists of economic separatism.

We are resolutely against the transformation of our union state into a union of national states or of the Russian Federation into a "patchwork quilt," a kind of conglomerate of separate fiefdoms. In contrast to the concept of autarky and regional isolation, we regard federation not as an end in itself, but as the way toward further economic and political integration and toward an increasingly close union, which augments the efforts of peoples in the struggle for social progress.

This approach presupposes both organically and intrinsically the undoubted priority of unionwide interests. Incidentally, the idea of this priority is part of the course of the humanist quest by progressive social thought, which has always placed universal interests above the advantage of any individual nation or social group.

Nevertheless, many people now are casting doubt on this apparently indisputable truth and are launching fierce attacks on it. All the discussions about priorities have been concentrated on issues of ownership. It is a cause for concern that they are already moving across from the sphere of theoretical arguments to the level of practical actions. There are, for example, well-known incidents in which land, water, and mineral resources have been proclaimed the property of republics and regions, when people talk about "their" diamonds, gold, coal, or oil, and in some places announce their entitlement even to airspace.

We all need to ponder very seriously the possible consequences of such claims. We must ponder, above all, whether the Marxist-Leninist view of ownership is not being forgotten in the heat of argument.

I would put it this way: If we stand for a single USSR, we are obliged to recognize that natural resources belong to the whole nation. With such an approach, one can speak of the property of the republics or regions only from the viewpoint of the right to dispose of, use, and control those resources.

These, Comrades, in general terms, are the main principles on which we build the concept of the transfer of the republic and its regions to the new methods of management. Of course, many aspects of this may be adjusted when the well-known "package" of laws on ownership, land, the socialist enterprise, a unified taxation system, and leasehold relations is passed. As you know, it is only after that that the USSR Supreme Soviet will examine the draft laws on the general principles of management of the economy and of the social sphere in union republics and regions.

The coming year will be for us a year of hard work on the changeover to the principles of self-financing and self-management. The government intends to brief the RSFSR Supreme Soviet at regular intervals about the progress of that work. In turn, we are entitled to expect that both the deputies of the republic Supreme Soviet and the USSR people's deputies representing Russia will take a keen interest in the work and be actively involved in it.

Certainly, the Council of Ministers will take note of the critical comments and requests made at the current session, and also of all the suggestions dictated by concern for the well-being of Russia. This applies not only to the basic issues associated with the enhancement of the republic's economic autonomy, but also to the further improvement of its superstructures. This means the problems of the sovereign rights of the RSFSR, of which V.I. Vorotnikov spoke in detail in his report.

In conclusion, Comrades, I should like to emphasize once again that the whole restructuring of management, including its territorial aspect, has been conceived to raise the efficiency of public production.

At the same time, the republic's economic situation is becoming ever more strained. An increasing number of enterprises are failing to fulfill their contract commitments. The situation in the consumer market is not getting any better, and the shortage of food and nonfood commodities is increasing. The imbalance between goods and money has intensified. Matters are not being put right in capital construction. There are still quite a few breakdowns in the supply of material resources to the most important sectors of the republic's national economy.

Unfortunately, in this situation many soviet and economic organs both in the center and at local level are not intervening actively enough in the processes taking place and are, in effect, losing their grip on the levers of management.

The government of the Russian Federation is assessing the situation self-critically and taking measures to overcome the negative trends in economic development. The programs we have elaborated on housing, food, consumer goods, and financial recovery provide the necessary prerequisites for normalizing the situation. But if they are to be implemented, there must be action, there must be concrete organizational work. This applies both to the republic and to the local organs.

In the course of creative and enterprising work, experience of autonomous management will be amassed step by step. This is the experience that, alone, can become the reliable base from which to shape a really viable self-financing and self-management mechanism.

Yakutsk Views Social, Economic 'Shortcomings'

LD2610125989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] The Bureau of the Yakutsk Oblast Party Committee has examined the issue of serious shortcomings in the fulfilment of social and economic programs in that autonomous republic over the past 9 months.

There are more than enough grounds for such language. Compared to the corresponding period of last year, loss of working time in industry has increased by more than 55 percent, and by 42 percent in construction. The fulfilment of social programs for the production of food, the construction of housing and amenities, and the provision of trade and municipal services to the population have been wrecked.

In its resolution, the Bureau has recommended that leaders of all ranks in the autonomous republic should analyze in detail the results of these 9 months and then should take vigorous measures aimed at eliminating the backlog.

Ukrainian Nov Supreme Soviet Agenda Noted

LD0711141689 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 29 Oct 89 p 3

["Decree of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Summary] It is hereby decreed to convene the 11th session of the Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet on 30 November 1989 to deal with the following agenda:

1. On the republic's state economic and social development plan for 1990.

2. On the budget of the Ukrainian SSR for 1990 and the fulfilment of the 1988 budget.

Ukrainian By-Election Results Announced

PM0611154589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Text] A session of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputies was held in Moscow 1 November.

It summed up the results of elections of USSR people's deputies to fill vacancies in the No 510 Dubnovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Rovno Oblast, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and in a runoff in the No 413 Leninskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Voroshilovgrad Oblast, Ukrainian SSR.

The Central Electoral Commission registered as USSR people's deputies:

Petr Kupriyanovich Prishchepa, first secretary of Rovno Oblast Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Rovno City, elected from the No 510 Dubnovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Rovno Oblast, the Ukrainian SSR;

Yuriy Petrovich Shchekochikhin, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer, member of the CPSU, Moscow City, elected from the No 413 Leninskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug, Voroshilovograd Oblast, the Ukrainian SSR.

In connection with the death of USSR People's Deputy A.S. Petrukovich the Central Electoral Commission appointed elections of a deputy to replace the deceased from the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans.

Hunger Strike in Kaliningrad over 'Persecution'

LD0611161789 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] The Sajudis Information Agency reports: A hunger strike was started on 4 November by Aleksandr Zhidinkov and (Kasbey Dubinin) in Kaliningrad City's central square. They were protesting the persecution of participants in the rally which took place on 7 October. They were both fined after the rally. Members of the informal organization "Solidarnost" kept a vigil near the hunger strikers.

Lithuanian Association Urges National Harmony

LD1910133089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 17 Aug 89 p 1

[Declaration by International Coordination Association and USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies Z. Vaisvila, Z. Slicyte, R. Ozolas, V. Landsbergis, K. Uoka, M. Laurinkus, A. Cekuolis, E. Bickauskas, E. Klumbys, S. Geda, K. Antanavicius, K. Prunskiene, J. Oleka, G. Kanovicius, N. Medvedevas, V. Tomkus and A. Buracas]

[Text] Citizens Of Lithuania!

Since ancient times, people of diverse nationalities have lived in Lithuania in mutual harmony. Mutual respect and tolerance have been the basis for national harmony and civic peace, which has helped to unify everyone's efforts in defense against external enemies and in the quest for mutual welfare. The recent past experience of common struggles for independence and 20 years of peaceful existence in the Lithuanian Republic are still alive in our memory. During that period, about 800 national association organizations were active in Lithuania; various Jewish organizations alone exceeded 200. Many Polish, Latvian, Russian, German, Belorussian, Estonian, Karaim, and other national minority organizations published many varied books and periodicals in their languages. National minorities, i.e., Latvians, Jews, Poles, Russians, and Germans, who resided in Independent Lithuania up to 1940 maintained a total of 328 schools, with instruction conducted in their own language. Jewish Association schools alone exceeded 120. Currently we are determined to protect the welfare of this national harmony and to preserve it for the future by restoring a state of Lithuania that would serve all its citizens on an equal basis, without considering their nationality.

Currently, as the Lithuanian people are seeking resolutely to abolish the results of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact signed 50 years ago and trying to restore independent democratic Lithuania, imperial and antidemocratic forces are attempting to interfere with the fulfilment of these endeavors by disseminating myths about the so-called nationality problems in Lithuania by spreading rumors about Lithuanians' nationalism and the danger to those of other nationalities, by trying to pit Lithuanian citizens of different nationalities against one another, and by attempting to arouse mistrust and disquiet in their midst. They are preparing provocations and will attempt to cause disturbances until 23 September, in order to use that as a pretext for introducing extraordinary administrative measures. This is why we must all try to sympathize with and to understand one another's national feelings, respect dignity, continue our restraint, and be on our guard, lest we assist those who bear ill will against Lithuania.

We consider our common goals, on the basis of national harmony, to be the restoration of a free and democratic Lithuanian nation, where the rights and freedoms of all of its people will be respected without looking at their nationality, and the right of every national association to develop freely its language and culture will also be ensured.

Thus, let us found the Lithuanian state in harmony. In the name of this Lithuania, let unity fluorish.

Signed on behalf of the Lithuanian International Coordination Association by: Representatives of Vilnius Sajudis Council, "Iverija"; the Georgian Association in Lithuania; the German-Lithuanian Cultural Association; the Lithuanian Jewish Cultural Association; the "Hul" Lithuanian Ukrainian Association; the Vilnius Industrial Enterprise Associations' Lithuanian Sajudis Association for the Resolution of National Questions, "Labora"; the Lithuanian Karaim Cultural Association; the Russian Culture Center; the Lithuanian Tatars' Association For Cultural Rebirth; the Belorussian Cultural Association; and USSR Deputies, Z. Vaisvila, Z. Silcyte, R. Ozolas, V. Landsbergis, K. Uoka, M. Laurinkus, A. Cekuolis, E. Bickauskas, E. Klumbys, S. Geda, K. Antanavicius, K. Prunskiene, J. Oleka, G. Kanovicius, N. Medvedevas, V. Tomkus and A. Buracas.

This declaration was unanimously approved by representatives of 48 Sajudis rayon and city councils.

Border Violator Apprehended in Moldavia

PM0811111489 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Nov 89 p 4

[Report by Ye. Donos, deputy chief of the "Ungeny-1" district border control point: "While the Issue Was Being Composed"]

[Text] Hello, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA? I am telephoning on behalf of the "Ungeny-1" district border control point. Congratulations on the holiday! Thank you for the selection of items "Some to the Parade, Some to the Detail" published in the newspaper's last issue.

Incidentally, Ensign Rezvanov—the hero of the item "Focus in Focus"—has distinguished himself again. Together with Privates First Class Bochkovskiy and Baranov, on the night of 6-7 November he apprehended a violator trying to cross the USSR state border after hiding in a freight train car. We are still investigating the violator, but the three border guards have already been awarded 10 days' home leave. All the best to you. Good-bye.

Moldavian Constitution Draft Law, Commentary

90UN0009A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 17 Sep 89 pp 2, 3

["Draft Law of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic 'On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Moldavian SSR'"; unattributed commentary on draft law]

[Text] In order to develop socialist democracy and self-government of the people, and to perfect the electoral system, structure, and functioning of the soviets of people's deputies and judicial organs, the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] resolves:

I. That the following amendments and additions be entered into the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Moldavian SSR:

1. Chapter 9 shall read as follows:

Chapter 9. System and Principles of Operation for the Soviets of People's Deputies

Article 78. The soviets of people's deputies—the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR and local soviets of people's deputies—rayon, city, rayon-in-city, settlement, and village—comprise a unified system of representative organs of state power in the republic.

Article 79. The term of office for the soviets of people's deputies is 5 years.

Elections of people's deputies are scheduled not later than 3 months prior to the expiration of term of office of the applicable organs of state power.

Article 80. Soviets of people's deputies located in areas under the jurisdiction of the Moldavian SSR are entrusted with absolute state power.

The most important issues of republic-level and local significance are resolved at sessions of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies or are presented by them for referendum.

The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies elect their chairmen and deputy chairmen. The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet has its own presidium.

The soviets of people's deputies form standing commissions and establish executive and administrative organs, as well as other organs accountable to them.

Responsible officials elected or appointed by the soviets of people's deputies may not hold their posts for more than two consecutive terms, with the exception of people's judges and members of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Court.

Article 81. The soviets of people's deputies establish organs of people's control, combining state control with social control of the working class at enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

Organs of people's control verify the accomplishment of legislative requirements, state programs, and tasks; they wage a struggle against violations of state discipline, manifestations of regionalism, the departmental approach to conducting business, waste and poor management, red tape and bureaucratism; and they facilitate perfecting the structure and operation of the state apparatus.

Article 82. The soviets of people's deputies, both directly and through the organs they establish, direct all branches of state, economic, and sociocultural construction; provide for environmental protection and efficient use of natural resources; make decisions, ensure their execution, and supervise their implementation.

Article 83. The functioning of the soviets of people's deputies is structured on the basis of collective, free, businesslike discussion and problem solving, on glasnost, on the regular accountability of executive and administrative organs (as well as other organs established by these soviets) to them and to the population, and on the broad, participatory involvement of citizens in their operation.

The soviets of people's deputies and organs established by them study public opinion and take it into account, present the most important issues of republic-level and local significance for discussion among the citizenry, organize the preparation and conduct of referendums, and systematically inform citizens and labor collectives regarding their work and decisions reached.

2. Chapter 10 shall read as follows:

Chapter 10. The Electoral System

Article 84. Elections of people's deputies to all Moldavian SSR soviets of people's deputies are conducted by single-mandate electoral okrugs on the basis of general, equal, and direct vote by secret ballot.

In order to ensure representation of social organizations according to the standards established by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, one-fourth of the people's deputies of the Moldavian SSR are elected from social organizations—the Moldavian Communist Party, trade unions, the Moldavian Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League], associations of women, war and labor veterans, research associates, creative unions, and other organizations established in accordance with law which have organs and which encompass and represent the interests of all strata of the Moldavian population. Elections of Moldavian SSR people's deputies from social organizations are conducted at the sessions, conferences, or plenums of their republic-level organs.

Article 85. Elections of people's deputies from the electoral okrugs are general: Citizens of the Moldavian SSR who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote. The right to elect deputies from social organizations belongs to all delegates to their congresses or conferences, or to all participants in the plenums of their republic-level organs.

A citizen of the Moldavian SSR who has attained the age of 21 may be elected a people's deputy of the Moldavian SSR; a Moldavian SSR citizen who has reached the age of 18 may be elected a deputy of the local soviet of people's deputies.

Servicemen enjoy the right to vote in the republic on an equal footing with all other citizens of the Moldavian SSR.

A citizen of the Moldavian SSR may not simultaneously be a deputy in more than two soviets of people's deputies.

Individuals who are members of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers; of executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies (with the exception of the chairmen of these organs); the chairman and members of the Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee; deputy ministers and deputy chairmen of Moldavian SSR state committees; section, department, and administration chiefs of executive committees of local soviets and their deputies; judges and state arbiters may not serve as deputies in the same soviet by which they were appointed or elected.

Mentally ill citizens, persons declared incapable by a court, incarcerated individuals, and persons placed by court order into mandatory treatment facilities are not eligible to participate in elections.

Article 86. Elections of people's deputies from electoral okrugs are equal: Each voter in an electoral okrug has one vote, and all voters participate in elections on an equal basis.

Regarding elections of people's deputies from social organizations, each delegate to its congress or conference, or each participant in its plenum, has one vote. All voters participate in elections on an equal basis.

Article 87. Elections of people's deputies from electoral okrugs are direct: People's deputies are elected directly by the citizens.

People's deputies from social organizations are elected directly by the delegates to their congresses or conferences, or by the participants in the plenums of their republic-level organs.

Article 88. Voting in the elections of people's deputies is secret: Monitoring of the will of the voters is not permitted.

Article 89. The right to nominate candidates by electoral okrug to the post of people's deputy belongs to the labor collectives, student collectives, social organizations, and assemblies of voters by place of residence, servicemen by unit of assignment.

There is no restriction on the number of candidates nominated for the post of people's deputy. Each participant in the pre-election assembly may propose discussion of any candidacy, including his own.

Electoral ballots may include the names of any number of candidates.

Expenditures associated with the preparation and conduct of elections of people's deputies will be incurred by the state. The financing of election campaigns from other sources is not permitted.

Article 90. Preparation for the elections of people's deputies is accomplished publicly and openly:

Elections are conducted by electoral commissions formed from representatives of labor collectives, student collectives, social organizations, and assemblies of voters by place of residence, servicemen by unit of assignment.

Labor collectives, student collectives, social organizations, and assemblies of voters by place of residence (servicemen by unit of assignment) are guaranteed the opportunity to free and all-encompassing discussion of the political, job-performance, and personal qualities of candidates for the post of people's deputy, as well as the right to campaign either for or against a candidate.

The procedure for conducting elections of people's deputies is determined by the laws of the Moldavian SSR.

Article 91. Voters and social organizations issue instructions to their elected deputies.

The appropriate soviets of people's deputies review instructions, take them into account in developing plans for economic and social development and drawing up the budget, as well as in formulating decisions on other matters, and jointly organize the execution of instructions and inform citizens as to their implementation.

3. Chapter 12 shall read as follows:

Chapter 12. The Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR

Article 97. The highest organ of state power in the Moldavian SSR is the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is authorized to take under consideration and decide any issue falling under the jurisdiction of the Moldavian SSR.

The following functions lie exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet:

1) adoption of the Moldavian SSR Constitution, and the introduction of amendments and additions to it;

2) decisions on matters of national or state structure falling under Moldavian SSR's jurisdiction;

3) decisions on border changes between the Moldavian SSR and another union republic upon their mutual agreement and presentation of such proposals for confirmation to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies;

4) determination of the basic orientation of Moldavian SSR's internal and external policies;

5) confirmation of state plans and the most important republic-level programs for economic and social development of the Moldavian SSR, approval of the Moldavian SSR state budget, and reports on their execution;

6) scheduling of elections for the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, determination of representational standards for elections to this body; scheduling of elections to local soviets of people's deputies of the Moldavian SSR; confirmation of the composition of the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of People's Deputies of the Moldavian SSR, and of changes to this composition;

7) election of the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet;

8) election of the first deputy chairman and other deputy chairmen of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet;

9) election of the Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee;

10) appointment of the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers; confirmation, upon his presentation, of the composition of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers and effecting changes to it; formation and abolition, upon proposal of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, of Moldavian SSR ministries and state committees;

11) election of the Moldavian SSR People's Control Committee, the Moldavian SSR Supreme Court, and Moldavian SSR people's judges; appointment of the Moldavian SSR Chief State Arbiter; and confirmation of the Moldavian SSR State Board of Arbitration;

12) regular review of reports rendered by organs they establish or elect, as well as by responsible officials they appoint or elect;

13) legislative regulation in the Moldavian SSR, within the limits of Moldavian SSR jurisdiction, regulation of property ownership relationships, organization of management of the economy and sociocultural construction, organization of the budget and accounting system, of wages and price formation, taxation, environmental protection, efficient use of natural resources, procedure for realization of the constitutional rights, freedoms, and obligations of Moldavian citizens;

14) interpretation of the laws of the Moldavian SSR;

15) establishment of procedure for determining and organizing the basic operational orientation of republic-level and local organs of state power and management; determination of the legal status of social organizations of the republic;

16) direction of the activity of local soviets of people's deputies;

17) resolution of issues involving the administrative-territorial structure of the Moldavian SSR;

18) decision-making regarding the conduct of referendums on Moldavian SSR territory;

19) ratification and annulment of Moldavian SSR international treaties;

20) the taking of measures, within limits determined by the USSR Constitution and the laws of the USSR, providing for defense preparedness and state security;

21) the exercise of direction in the sphere of Moldavian SSR relations with foreign states and international organizations through procedures as established by the USSR;

22) institution of state awards of the Moldavian SSR;

23) repeal of instructions and resolutions of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR, directives of the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, resolutions and directives of the Council of Ministers of the Moldavian SSR;

24) appeal to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee in the event a legislative or other act of the USSR encroaches upon the sovereign rights of the Moldavian SSR.

The Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR adopts laws and resolutions. Laws are adopted by at least a two-thirds majority of votes from among the total number of Moldavian SSR people's deputies; resolutions—by a majority of votes.

Article 98. The Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR consists of 300 deputies, elected according to the following procedure:

225 deputies—from territorial electoral okrugs with equal numbers of voters;

75 deputies—from republic-level social organizations.

Article 99. The Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR is called to its first session by the Presidium of the prior Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet not later than 2 months following elections.

Upon recommendation by the Mandate Commission elected by it, the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet decides matters regarding the acceptance of deputies' credentials and, in the event of violation of electoral law, declares the election of certain deputies to have been invalid.

The first session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet following elections is presided over by one of the most senior (by age) people's deputies of the Moldavian SSR; then, after election of the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and his deputies—by the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet or his deputies.

Article 100. The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is a permanently functioning legislative, administrative, and supervisory organ of state power of the Moldavian SSR.

Article 101. The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is called annually into regular sessions—spring and fall—by the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet. Each session lasts, as a rule, 2 or 3 months.

Special sessions are convened by the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet upon its own initiative, upon recommendation of the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, or upon recommendation of at least one-third of the people's deputies of the Moldavian SSR.

A session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet consists of its meetings and meetings of standing commissions of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet conducted between Supreme Soviet meetings.

Article 102. The right of legislative initiative in the Moldavian SSR belongs to the people's deputies of the Moldavian SSR, the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, standing commissions of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Moldavian SSR People's Control Committee, the Moldavian SSR Supreme Court, the prosecutor of the Moldavian SSR, and the Moldavian SSR chief state arbiter.

Right of legislative initiative also belongs to social organizations as represented by their republic-level organs in the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences.

Article 103. Draft laws and draft resolutions presented for review of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet are discussed at its sessions.

Draft laws of the Moldavian SSR and other very important affairs of state may be presented for popular discussion by decision of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 104. The Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is an organ accountable to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet. It organizes the work of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and exercises other authority within limits stipulated by the Moldavian SSR Constitution and the laws of the Moldavian SSR.

The Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is comprised of the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, first deputy chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, other deputy chairmen of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Moldavian SSR People's Control Committee, and chairmen of standing commissions of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is headed by the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 105. The Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet:

1) calls the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet into session;

2) organizes the preparation of Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet sessions;

3) coordinates the activity of standing commissions of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet;

4) assists people's deputies of the Moldavian SSR in the exercise of their authority and provides them necessary information;

5) monitors observance of the Moldavian SSR Constitution;

6) repeals decisions of rayon and city (for cities subordinate to republic) soviets of people's deputies in the event they fail to conform to the law;

7) organizes the preparation and conduct of referendums, as well as people's discussions of draft laws of the Moldavian SSR and other most important issues of state;

8) presents state awards of the Moldavian SSR;

9) decides matters of Moldavian SSR citizenship and the granting of asylum;

10) grants pardons and amnesty for citizens convicted by Moldavian SSR courts;

11) appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Moldavian SSR in foreign countries and international organizations;

12) receives letters of credentials and recall for foreign diplomatic representatives accredited to it;

13) determines necessary measures to provide for state security and social order; decides, jointly with the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, matters concerning declaration of a state of war or state of emergency throughout the republic or in certain areas, and concerning the introduction of special forms of government in such situations;

14) publishes, in Moldavian, Russian, and other languages spoken by the population of the republic (when necessary), the laws of the Moldavian SSR and other acts adopted by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet;

15) exercises other authority as established by the Constitution of the Moldavian SSR and its laws.

The Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet issues instructions and adopts resolutions.

Article 106. The chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is the highest responsible official in the Moldavian SSR and represents the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic in the USSR and in international relations.

The chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is elected at a session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet by secret vote of the people's deputies of the Moldavian SSR. He is elected for a term of 5 years and may not serve more than two terms in succession. He may be recalled at any time by secret vote of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet of at least a two-thirds majority of the deputies.

The chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is accountable to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 107. The chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet:

1) exercises overall direction in the preparation of matters subject to review by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet; signs laws and other acts of the Moldavian SSR approved by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet;

2) presents reports to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet on the state of the republic and on the most important issues of internal and external Moldavian SSR policy;

3) presents the nomination of candidates to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet for election to the posts of first deputy chairman and other deputy chairmen of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet; recommends proposals regarding the personal composition of the Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee;

4) presents nominations of candidates to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet for appointment or election to the posts of chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Moldavian SSR People's Control Committee, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Court, and Moldavian SSR chief state arbiter;

5) conducts negotiations and signs international treaties of the Moldavian SSR;

The chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet issues directives.

The first deputy chairman and other deputy chairmen of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet fulfill, by the authority of the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, certain of his functions and replace him in the event of his absence or inability to exercise his responsibilities.

Article 108. Upon expiration of the term of office of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet retains its authority until formation of the new presidium elected by the new Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The newly elected Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is convened by the Presidium of the prior Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet not later than 2 months following the elections.

Article 109. The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet elects standing commissions of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet from among the people's deputies of the Moldavian SSR for the purpose of drafting legislation, conducting preliminary review and preparation of issues falling under the jurisdiction of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, assisting in the enforcement of Moldavian SSR laws and other decisions approved by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, and monitoring the activity of state organs and organizations.

The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet establishes, when necessary, investigatory, inspection, and other committees on any issue, and changes the composition of standing committees.

Article 110. The laws of the Moldavian SSR, resolutions and other decisions of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet are adopted, as a rule, after preliminary discussion of their draft versions by appropriate standing commissions of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Appointment and election of responsible officials to the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, Moldavian SSR People's Control Committee, Moldavian SSR Supreme Court, and Moldavian SSR State Arbitration Board are conducted based on the decision of appropriate standing commissions of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

All state and social organs, organizations, and responsible officials are obliged to fulfill requirements of the commissions of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and provide them necessary materials and documents.

Commission recommendations are subject to mandatory review by state and social organs, institutions, and organizations. Results of review and measures taken must be reported to the commissions within the time frame established by them.

Article 111. A people's deputy of the Moldavian SSR has the right, at sessions of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, to present inquiries to the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, and to the leadership of other organs established or elected by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet. The organ or responsible official to whom the inquiry is addressed is obligated to submit an oral or written response at the applicable session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet within a period of 3 days.

People's deputies of the Moldavian SSR are released from their official or normal job obligations in order to exercise their duties as deputies in the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and its commissions for a specified period or over the entire duration of their term of office in the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

A people's deputy of the Moldavian SSR may not be held criminally accountable, arrested, or subject to punitive administrative measures or imposed judicial proceedings without consent of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, and—in the period between sessions—without consent of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Article 112. The Constitutional Oversight Committee of the Moldavian SSR is elected for a term of 10 years by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet from among the field of experts in the sphere of policy and law. The committee consists of a chairman, deputy chairman, and five members.

Persons elected to the Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee may not simultaneously be members of organs whose functioning is subject to oversight by the committee.

The Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee:

1) presents conclusions to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, either upon its own initiative or on being so instructed by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, regarding the conformance of acts and draft legislation of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet with the Constitution of the Moldavian SSR and its laws;

2) observes the conformance of resolutions and directives of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, and decisions of rayon and city (for cities subordinate to republic) soviets of people's deputies with the Constitution of the Moldavian SSR and its laws;

3) renders judgment, upon its own initiative, as directed by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, or upon motion of the Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, or Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, as to the conformance of acts by other state organs and social organizations with the Constitution of the Moldavian SSR and with its laws.

In the event a conflict is uncovered between an act or certain of its provisions and the Constitution or laws of the Moldavian SSR, the Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee sends its conclusions regarding elimination of the violation to the organ which issued the act. The committee's adoption of such conclusions suspends the act or appropriate provisions of it which are in conflict with the Moldavian SSR Constitution or Moldavian SSR laws.

The Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee is authorized to present a declaration to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet or Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers on the repeal of acts issued by organs or responsible officials accountable to them which are in conflict with the Moldavian SSR Constitution or Moldavian SSR laws.

The organization and operating procedure of the Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee are as determined by law.

Article 113. The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet monitors the activity of all state organs accountable to it.

The Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet directs the activities of the Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, which runs the system in which the republic's organs of people's control operate.

Article 114. Operating procedure for the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and its organs is determined by the Regulations of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and other laws of the Moldavian SSR.

4. Articles 151, 152, 154, and 158 of Chapter 18, "Courts and Arbitration," shall read as follows:

Article 151. All courts in the Moldavian SSR are established on the principle of election of judges and people's assessors.

People's judges of rayon, city, and rayon-in-city people's courts are elected by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet to a 10-year term.

Chairmen of the people's courts of the republic are appointed by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet from the field of people's judges.

People's assessors of rayon, city, and rayon-in-city people's courts are elected to a 5-year term at assemblies of citizens by place of residence or work, by open voting procedure.

Judges and people's assessors are responsible to the organs or voters that elected them. They are accountable to them and may be recalled by them through procedure established by law.

Article 152. The Moldavian SSR Supreme Court is the highest judicial organ in the Moldavian SSR and oversees the judicial activity of courts in the Moldavian SSR.

The Moldavian SSR Supreme Court is elected to a 10-year term by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and is comprised of a chairman, deputy chairman, and members. People's assessors of the Supreme Court are elected to a 5-year term.

Article 154. Judges and people's assessors are independent, and are subordinate only to the law.

Judges and people's assessors function under conditions which ensure unhindered and effective exercise of their rights and obligations. Interference of any kind in the activity of judges and people's assessors in their administration of justice will not be tolerated and is subject to penalty under law.

Immunity of judges and people's assessors, as well as other guarantees of their independence, are established by the USSR Law on Status of Judges in the USSR, and other USSR and Moldavian SSR legislation.

Article 158. Court proceedings in the Moldavian SSR are conducted in the state language or in a language suitable to the majority of participants in the matter. Participants in a judicial matter who do not speak the language in which proceedings are being conducted are guaranteed the right to complete familiarization with materials of the affair, to participation in court activity through an interpreter, and to the opportunity to provide court testimony in their native language.

II. In accordance with and proceeding from the new wording of Chapters 9, 10, and 12 of the Constitution of the Moldavian SSR, appropriate amendments and additions shall be entered in the following articles of the Moldavian SSR Constitution:

1. After the words "under USSR jurisdiction" in the first part of Article 72, the words "at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies" shall be added.

2. The third part of Article 92 shall read as follows:

"A deputy is guided in his activity by the overall interests of the state. He takes into account inquiries presented by the population of his electoral okrug and the interests expressed by the social organization which elected him. He implements the instructions of the voters and social organization."

3. Article 93 shall read as follows:

"Article 93. A deputy exercises his authority, as a rule, without breaking off his normal job or official activity.

"During the time the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet or local soviets of people's deputies are in session, as well as during the exercise of their authority as deputies in other instances as provided by law, deputies are released from their normal work or official obligations for a certain period of time or entirely. They will be reimbursed for expenditures related to their duties as deputies from funds in the republic or local treasury."

4. The first part of Article 94 shall read as follows:

"A deputy has the right to submit an inquiry to appropriate state organs and responsible officials, who are then obliged to respond to the inquiry in session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet or local soviets of people's deputies."

5. Article 96 shall read as follows:

"Article 96. A deputy is obliged to render an accounting of his work, and the work of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet or local soviet of people's deputies, to the voters, labor collectives, and social organizations which proposed his candidacy as a deputy, or to the social organization which elected him.

"A deputy who fails to justify the confidence placed in him by the voters or social organization may be recalled at any time upon decision of a majority of the voters or by the social organization that elected him, according to procedure established by law."

6. Article 117 shall read as follows:

"Article 117. The Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers is responsible to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and is accountable to it.

"The newly formed Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers presents for review of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet the program of activity for its term of office.

"The Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers renders a report on its work to the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet at least once each year."

7. The first part of Article 118 shall read as follows:

"The Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers is empowered to decide all matters of state government which fall under the jurisdiction of the Moldavian SSR, insofar as they do not come under the authority of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and its presidium, or that of the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, according to the Moldavian SSR Constitution."

8. Article 120 shall read as follows:

"Article 120. The Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, on the basis of and in execution of the laws of the USSR, the laws of the Moldavian SSR, other decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, and resolutions and directives of the USSR Council of Ministers, issues resolutions and directives and verifies their execution. Resolutions and directives of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers are binding over the entire territory of the Moldavian SSR."

9. The following text shall be added to the third part of Article 121:

"The Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers has the right to suspend acts of USSR ministries, state committees, and departments in the republic in the event they conflict with Moldavian SSR interests and sovereign rights, prior to resolution of the conflict in the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee."

10. In the fourth part of Article 122, the words "on the basis of and in execution of the laws of the USSR, the laws of the Moldavian SSR, other decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium, and of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium" shall be replaced with "on the basis of and in execution of the laws of the USSR, the laws of the Moldavian SSR, other decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet."

11. Article 133 shall read as follows:

"Article 133. The executive and administrative organs of the local soviets of people's deputies shall be their elected executive committees.

"The executive committees of local soviets are directly accountable both to the soviet which elected them and to their higher ranking executive and administrative organ.

"Executive committees render reports to the soviets that elected them, as well as at assemblies of labor collectives and citizens (at their place of residence), at least once each year."

12. Article 172 shall read as follows:

"Article 172. Amendments or additions to the Moldavian SSR Constitution are effected by decision of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet upon the vote of at least a three-fourths majority of all the people's deputies of the Moldavian SSR."

Commentary on the Draft Law of the Moldavian SSR "On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Moldavian SSR"

The basic purpose of the Moldavian SSR draft law "On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Moldavian SSR" is to effect legal consolidation of the first stage of political reform in the republic, to effect a rebirth of the sovereignty of the soviets in the Leninist sense of the term, and to establish a socialist law-governed state. The draft law was drawn up taking into account the basic principles of soviet federalism, unity in legislative regulation, and the amendments which were introduced into the USSR Constitution. The draft law includes certain legal standards and provisions which differ from the analogous standards in the USSR Constitution and Moldavian SSR Constitution, and omits certain standards.

The new text includes Chapter 9 ("System and Principles of Operation for the Soviets of People's Deputies"), Chapter 10 ("The Electoral System"), and Chapter 12 ("The Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR").

Chapter 9 (Article 78) states that the soviets of people's deputies on all levels comprise a unified system of representative organs of state power in the republic. They possess absolute state power (Article 80) in the territory of their jurisdiction. The soviets of people's deputies serve a 5-year term (Article 79).

The draft law sets a limitation regarding persons elected or appointed by the soviets of people's deputies—they may hold their positions for no more than two consecutive terms, with the exception of people's judges and members of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet (Article 80).

With regard to the deteriorating ecological situation in the republic, the continuing pollution of soil, water, and air by chemical agents which is exerting a harmful influence on people's health, it is proposed that the responsibility for environmental protection be constitutionally imposed on all soviets of people's deputies in the republic (Article 82).

Articles 84 and 89 of Chapter 10 (which lays down the basic principles of the electoral system) extend to social organizations the right to nominate candidates to the post of people's deputy. The principles of self-government and socialist democratism should be strictly observed in this regard. Elections are conducted exclusively by single-mandate electoral okrug, on the basis of universal, equal, and direct right to vote by secret ballot.

It is proposed that one-fourth of Moldavian SSR people's deputies be elected from social organizations in the republic which encompass and represent the interests of all population strata (Article 84).

Article 85 is supplemented with two parts, one of which regulates the right of a citizen of the Moldavian SSR to be elected Moldavian SSR people's deputy from the age of 21, and people's deputy in the local soviets of people's deputies—from the age of 18. The second part of this article extends voting rights to servicemen on an equal basis with all citizens of the Moldavian SSR.

The listing of individuals by job position who may not serve as deputies in the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet has been expanded to include the chairman and members of the Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, deputy ministers and deputy chairmen of Moldavian SSR state committees, and deputy chiefs of sections and administrations of executive committees of the local soviets.

The right to nominate candidates to the post of people's deputy and to take part in the work of the electoral commissions has been extended also to student collectives (Article 89).

The task of organizing execution of instructions issued by the voters is entrusted to the soviets of people's deputies, which should accomplish this effort jointly among deputies (Article 91).

The Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR is instituted as the highest organ of state power in the republic. Its exclusive authority is delineated, specified, and supplemented in Article 97. Specifically, these include ratification of state plans and the most important republic-level programs of Moldavian SSR economic and social development; insuring environmental protection and efficient use of natural resources; determining and establishing organizational procedure for the basic operational orientation of republic-level and local organs of state power and government; determining the legal status of social organizations of the republic; instituting state awards of the Moldavian SSR; and appealing to the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee in the event a legislative or other act of the USSR encroaches upon the sovereign rights of the Moldavian SSR.

In order to enhance the authoritativeness of this law and avoid erroneous, imperfect laws not supported by a significant majority of Moldavian SSR people's deputies, it is proposed that a rule be established requiring adoption of republic laws by vote of at least a two-thirds majority of all the people's deputies of the Moldavian SSR (Article 97).

The Constitution of the Moldavian SSR may be amended by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, upon the vote of at least a three-fourths majority of all people's deputies of the Moldavian SSR (Article 172). In this manner the attainment of a qualified majority in deciding key issues of state, traditional to the Soviet system, will be preserved.

The Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet remains in the organizational structure as the highest element of popular representation. It acquires another status, however, in that its composition and jurisdiction are changed (Article 104). Its chief task now is to effect organization of the work of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet. It will also exercise special powers in extraordinary situations. Major differences between the new presidium and the old consist in the fact that it is not now endowed with the right to introduce changes in legislation, issue normative instructions, and substitute for the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet during the period between sessions in handling a number of issues formerly within its purview (Article 105).

The highest ranking responsible official of the Moldavian SSR is the chairman of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet. He is elected in session of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet by secret ballot from the field of people's deputies for a 5-year term and may not serve more than two terms in succession. He may be recalled at any time by secret vote of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet of at least a two-thirds majority of the deputies (Article 106).

The role of standing commissions of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet is significantly enhanced. They receive additional legal means of influencing the resolution of issues in the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet (Articles 109, 110).

The specific embodiment of the concept of forming a law-governed state is seen in the establishment of the Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee within the structure of supreme power (Article 112). This committee is elected by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet to a 10-year term from among the field of experts in the sphere of policy and law, and consists of a chairman, deputy chairman, and five committee members. Persons elected to the Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee may not simultaneously be members of organs whose activity falls under the jurisdiction of the committee.

The Moldavian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee is authorized to verify conformance of various acts (here is meant normative acts) with the Moldavian SSR Constitution and laws of the Moldavian SSR, and arrive at conclusions as to whether or not they are constitutional and lawful.

Amendments are introduced into a number of other articles in the Moldavian SSR Constitution. A unified principle is applied in the organization of the judicial system.

People's judges of rayon, city, and rayon-in-city people's courts are elected by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet to a 10-year term. Chairmen of people's courts of the republic are appointed by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet from the field of people's judges.

The draft law establishes that people's assessors of rayon, city, and rayon-in-city people's courts are elected at assemblies of citizens by place of residence or work place by open voting procedure to a 5-year term (Article 151).

The Moldavian SSR Supreme Court is elected by the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet to a 10-year term, and consists of a chairman, deputy chairmen, and members. People's assessors of the Supreme Court are elected to a 5-year term (Article 152).

Judges and people's assessors are guaranteed conditions of unhindered and effective exercise of their rights and obligations. Interference of any kind in the activity of judges and people's assessors regarding the administration of justice will not be tolerated and is subject to penalty under law (Article 154).

The draft law expands the rights of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers to include the right to suspend acts of ministries, state committees, and departments of the USSR as they apply in the Moldavian SSR in the event these conflict with the interests and sovereign rights of the republic, prior to such conflict being resolved in the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee (Article 121).

The Presidium of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet expresses the hope that discussion of the draft law will proceed in a constructive spirit and involve a beneficial exchange of views.

In consideration of proposals which have been voiced regarding the necessity of providing guarantees to protect the rights of all national groups residing within the territory of the republic, the people's discussion of the draft law should include discussion of the advisability of creating a dual-chambered supreme soviet in the Moldavian SSR, or a special organ under the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet—the Council of National-Group Representatives.

PRAVDA Chief on Defining Socialism

PM0811094289 Rome IL MESSAGGERO in Italian 6 Nov 89 p 5

[Interview with PRAVDA Chief Editor Ivan Frolov by Marco Politi in Moscow; date not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Politi] Mr Frolov, what is a philosopher doing at the head of PRAVDA?

[Frolov] Actually, my training was twofold. I studied biology and genetics, as well. As a young man, I wrote about biological methodology; then I wrote about genetics and the history of science; and subsequently I dealt with matters relating to peace, disarmament, and ecology. My latest work, however, is entitled "Mankind and Humanism."

[Politi] Then you edited the magazines VOPROSY FILOSOFII and KOMMUNIST. With that kind of background, what kind of PRAVDA do you want to create?

[Frolov] We are already discussing this with the editorial board. We have formulated models affecting both its content and its layout. PRAVDA will of course remain a newspaper for deliberation and analysis, the organ of the CPSU. In fact we want to provide more information about the Party bodies—the Central Committee, the Politburo. This, especially with a view to the next congress, which must renew the party and halt the processes leading to the diminution of its prestige. However, I also want PRAVDA to have a more human, less formal face. We will cover art, culture, science, and sports. Yes, even sports. I am told that in your country even the priests play soccer, isn't it so?

[Politi] Of course they do. But let us keep to the subject of the Party. Is there still one CPSU? Or are there already three or four of them—as many as there are factions in parliament, in which 80 percent of deputies are officially Communists?

[Frolov] I would say that there is one single party. The fact is, rather, that in many cases members are disoriented and cannot understand what is happening. We must succeed in combining the need for a certain degree of unanimity with the principle of pluralism of opinions, which we recognize. We shall see how the renewed party turns out. Among other things, the number of members will probably decline, then after a while it will recover.

[Politi] You are having to head PRAVDA at an extremely delicate time. What do you expect from the 28th congress?

[Frolov] That it specify the meaning and aim of perestroyka at the present time. It is necessary to redefine the concept of socialism under present conditions. We will not draw up a new CPSU program such as that adopted in the past—so perfect as to be useless from the very first day. I would see the usefulness, rather, of a short-term action program.

[Politi] What does socialism today mean to you, as editor of PRAVDA?

[Frolov] The development of humanistic and democratic socialism. Gorbachev is working hard on this subject. We do not want to invent anything new: We want to understand. I have in mind a human socialism, as opposed to the authoritarian-bureaucratic model that Marx described as barracks communism. In my opinion, Marxism is genuine humanism. Revolutionary theory, the class struggle, and economic theory are just a means to an end: Mankind must be the yardstick and measure of all things.

[Politi] If this is the current trend within your party, are there prospects of an intensive dialogue between the CPSU and the Socialist International?

[Frolov] I believe that relations will become closer. I see no obstacles to a more thorough study of the ideas of democratic socialism espoused by the Socialist International. In the future I see increasing integration between people who give a democratic and humanistic interpretation of the ideas embodied in the young Marx' economic and philosophical writings, whether they call themselves socialists, social democrats, or communists. We are abandoning concepts inherited from Stalinism and returning to the starting point of Marx and Lenin. I believe that social democratic circles, too, will in the future regard Communists as something other than a sect.

[Politi] Is this Gorbachev's idea?

[Frolov] In recent years, you in the West have paid too much attention to coups de theatre. Stalin was exposed, various facts and individuals were exposed. But you have not paid much attention to far-reaching philosophical changes which have taken place in our thinking in the course of years of work. When Gorbachev says that mankind's interests must prevail over class interests, that is a turning point. Anybody who said such things would have been accused of revisionism, not 50 years ago but just 7 years ago.

[Politi] Political scientist Migranyan thinks that, in the present phase, the USSR needs a democratic dictatorship, in short it needs Gorbachev to be a benevolent dictator. What do you think?

[Frolov] Many people are now talking. Old hands and young hotheads. The question of the iron fist is a provocation, perhaps to prompt a response. It does not interest me. I am watching the real processes, which are a far cry from the hypothesis of the iron fist.

KGB's Ugarov Discusses Secrecy

LD0311130989 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 3 TASS—Fundamentals of legislation for the protection of secrets are being prepared in the Soviet Union, Viktor Ugarov, head of the State Security Committee (KGB) subdivision in charge of the protection of state secrets, said in an interview published in the latest issue of PRAVITESLTVENNY VESTNIK (Government Herald).

Such a law would separate the functions, powers and responsibilities of both state and public agencies and the country's citizens in this major sphere of state life.

As a result, there will be better control over the maintenance of secrecy and lesser scope for departments to make things secret.

Speaking of criteria and limits of necessary secrecy, Ugarov admitted that no unambiguous opinion has been formed, particularly with regard to economic, scientific and technological secrets.

"One may proceed, for example, from the amount of damage which an information leak would do the country," he said. "The greater the damage, the higher the degree of protection should be."

"However, a different approach is also possible: to evaluate the benefit of openness, since it may be greater than the damage from an information leak. There may be different approaches in the military business and diplomacy."

"I do not want to forestall events. A large number of researchers are working on the problem," the KGB official said. "I would like to point out the main thing: the administration of the country is being changed over to economic lines. This means that the protection of information cannot be based on administrative methods."

"We should look ahead and create a mechanism under which it would be disadvantageous for an agency, enterprise or administrator to make secrets out of things that should be classified or tolerate a leak of information."

"I am sure that time will come when we shall share commercial and state secrets. So far we have no such problem because it is directly connected with the nature of ownership. But look what a keen debate on the subject is under way in the Soviet parliament."

"The peculiarities of the protection of commercial secrets are untrodden ground. Research in this field has also been started on the KGB initiative supported by the government."

KGB's Miroshnik on Past, Present Work

LD2410111289 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 89 pp 3,4

[Article entitled: "Together With the People and the Country"]

[Text] V.M. Miroshnik, chairman of the Committee for State Security [KGB] of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], answers questions put by KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA.

We have recently marked another birthday of F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, an ardent revolutionary, one of the brilliant representatives of the glorious cohort of Bolshevik-Leninists, a man who possessed high moral qualities, and whose name is inseparably linked with the establishment of revolutionary rule and the protection of the gains of Great October.

When, after the victory of the October Revolution, a state with a new social system appeared on the map of the world, its external and internal enemies declared a fierce war on it. The country was inundated by mutinies, plots, assassinations, and sabotage. The rabid reactionary onslaught and the whole situation required urgent and decisive measures. The logic of class struggle dictated the necessity of creating a special organ of the proletariat dictatorship for combatting the counterrevolutionaries and sabotage.

Such a body was created: On 20 December 1917, the Council of People's Commissars adopted a decision on organizing the All-Union Extraordinary Commission (VChK). Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskiy was appointed its chairman.

F.E. Dzerzhinskiy, basing himself on Leninist directives, provided the foundation for the glorious traditions of the Chekist organs. Under his direct leadership, they filled a number of pages in the chronicle of struggle against the enemies of Soviet rule.

The Soviet organs of state security have traversed a long and difficult path. Their efforts at all stages of our history were directed at providing a confident and progressive development within the Soviet state. The Chekists have been living together with the country as a whole, and have assumed the roles of participants, victors, and victims during its heroic and tragic history.

The KGB organs at present, during the intensified process of perestroyka, of broadening democracy and the implementation of the concept of widespread glasnost, are making essential corrections to their activity. They are mastering the skills of new work methods, and, they are living and acting in order to protect the revolutionary transformations of perestroyka.

The readers are aware that the Kazakhstan KGB has worked out measures for the development of glasnost in its activity and that practical steps are being taken in this respect. Following the tradition that is being created, the editorial office asked Viktor Mikhaylovich Miroshnik, chairman of the KGB of the republic, to answer a number of questions connected not only with present work, but also with the past work of Kazakhstan's security organs.

[Journalist] Viktor Mikhaylovich, perestroyka is taking place in our country on the initiative of the party and under its leadership. Blockages of the past are eradicated and a new thinking is making way for itself. Have these processes affected the republic's state security organs?

[Miroshnik] These days the Chekists of Soviet Kazakhstan live by the same thoughts, deeds, and concerns as all Soviet people. Together with the republic's working people, they warmly approved of the party's course for a radical transformation of all spheres of our society's life. They regard the party's decisions which have determined the strategy and tactics of perestroyka as principal ones for the perfection of their work. We see the necessity to actively participate in the revolutionary process of the renovation of society and to fulfil vigilantly and with full responsibility the functions with which the state security organs were charged—that is, to protect the main gains of socialism, to assure the security of the country and the inviolability of its state borders, and to assist perestroyka in all possible ways. This is our principal task.

The state scurity organs and all Soviet people must assure greater participation by people in perestroyka so that every employee confirms his devotion to perestroyka with practical deeds, honest daily labor, irreproachable fulfilment of his duty, the strictest observation of the law, high morality, a professional approach, and creative activity. The search is constantly conducted for new ways, corresponding to the dynamically changing situation, of resolving operative tasks in the struggle against the intelligence and subversive activity of the enemy's special services, in protecting the Soviet state, the social system, and the working people from criminal encroachments.

[Journalist] In recent years, many 'blank spots' in the history of our state have been uncovered, and the readers' interest in our republic's past is growing. Could you tell us briefly the history of Kazakhstan's VChK-KGB organs, and shed some light on their present activity?

[Miroshnik] I would like to mention that quite a few excellent books have been written and captivating films have been made about the difficult and noble work of the republic's Chekists. The press has not forgotten them either. However, only separate episodes, in the main, from the history of Kazakhstan's security organs are brought to light. Unfortunately, there is as yet no systematized and complete history of the republic's VChK-KGB organs which would enjoy popularity. I would like to rectify this omission.

After the victory of the October revolution, the people of the steppe country also had to carry out a merciless and fierce struggle against counterrevolutionaries. The White Guards, armed by imperialists from England, the United States, and other capitalist countries, encircled the Kazakh lands, trying to strangle Bolshevism and Soviet rule. Kolchak's troops were in the north, Dutov's and Tolstov's in the east, and Northern Semirechye was threatened from the south by the Kokand "government," formed by Turkestan's bourgeois nationalists in November 1918. The ringleaders of the White Guard movement found true allies in rich Russian Cossacks and Kazakh bourgeois nationalists, in the first place.

The ChK organs of Kazakhstan were formed during that difficult period. They had to immediately commence the fierce battle with counterrevolutionaries. Quite often Chekists, with weapons in their hands, had to fight off the attempts to overthrow Soviet rule. Among the major operations were the frustration of intrigues by British intelligence in Semirechye; the demoralization of the counterrevolutionary den of Dutov in Xingyang; and the liquidation of the mutiny and the bands of Annenkov in Vernyy.

Some 40 major armed outbreaks against Soviet rule were averted and suppressed in the republic.

I would like to stress the fact that people of numerous nationalities originally made up Kazakhstan's ChK: S.M. Shtyb; A. Aytiyev; L.I. Yurgens; N.S. Popenko; K. Chanyshev; M. Masanchi; M. Khodzhamyarov; and others. They were defending the interests of people's rule, standing shoulder to shoulder. The Chekists have continued to introduce internationalism and battle comradeship. At present, representatives from 14 nationalities are serving in the republic's state security organs.

As the counterrevolutionary forces were progressively liquidated, the struggle against the intrigues of imperialist intelligence agencies became the main object of activity for the state security organs. In the prewar years in particular, subversive activities by several dozen fascist spies was curbed. They were acting under the cover of distributing "charitable" Hitlerite assistance.

In the years of the Great Patriotic War, the Chekists of our republic also made their contribution to the victory over the enemy. Thus, K.I. Nitsche, a hardened agent of German intelligence, was arrested in June 1941. In February 1942 I.I. Maerchik and F.YA. Kovalski were arrested in Alma-Ata. They were recruited by fascist intelligence in 1939 in occupied Poland, and were smuggled into the USSR the same year. They arrived here under the guise of Polish refugees.

Such cases are far from rare. In 1943 alone, 48 Hitlerite intelligence agents were sentenced. A number of fascist saboteur-spy parachute groups, formed from Soviet prisoners of war, including the "Turkestan Legion," were recruited by German special services. Who were those groups, for instance, the group of traitors to the motherland named 'Alash' headed by the former Red Army Chief Lieutenant Alikhan Agayev? Before that, the group took part in battles against partisans in Italy and at the Soviet front. After thorough training in special schools in Brandenburg, Luckenwalde, Poltava, and Kharkov, 14 of that group—supplied with weapons, modern means of communication, about 1 million rubles, a printing press, and over 3000 leaflets in Kazakh—were dropped by parachute in Guryev Oblast. They were instructed to organize uprisings and to carry out sabotage and terrorism. They were soon liquidated with help from the population.

During the war, many of Kazakhstan's Chekists died a hero's death. Among them were Hero of the Soviet Union F.F. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], S.S.

Lukyanov, A. Mirsadykov, K. Shukenov, G.A. Gorlov, Sh. M. Arslanov, and others. Their names will not be obliterated in the people's memory.

In the postwar period the republic's state security organs found many traitors to the motherland and active participants in the "Turkestan Legion," and passed them to the judiciary organs. In 1951, Sarantsev, a former soldier in Vlasov's army who was recruited by the U.S. intelligence service and sent to the Soviet Union to conduct sabotage, was arrested in the territory of Kazakhstan. High professional skills and persistance were required to uncover Khiminidi and Papondopulos, who were used by one of the Western intelligence agencies for collecting intelligence , and to uncover Martina Kischke, a West German intelligence agent who officially acted as an employee of FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, and other persons who collaborated with the special services of foreign countries.

Speaking about the successes of the security organs, we have no right to forget the consequences of the personality cult, about the attempt to remove them from party control. This caused serious damage to the interests of our state, led to unjustified repressions, and caused incalculable suffering to the Soviet people.

The party has decisively condemned the deviations from the Leninist norms of the party and state life. A lot of work is being done in our country on the strengthening of socialist legality, and reliable political and legal guarantees of the socialist order have been created. At our next meeting it will be possible to speak in greater detail about the work of Kazakhstan's Chekists on the restoration of justice for the persons who were repressed unjustly.

[Journalist] I accept this proposal. And moreover, many readers have requested that I tell them about this. Now, if possible, could you tell us about other concerns at the present time.

[Miroshnik] At present the Chekists live a busy life. It is necessary to say with full responsibility that despite the thaw in the international situation, certain imperialist circles have not abandoned the intention to achieve military superiority over the USSR, to liquidate socialism as a social system, and to wreck the revolutionary transformations in our society. They devote a considerable place in the implementation of their subversive ideas to special services and foreign anti-Soviet organizations and centers, constantly increasing the allocations for the upkeep, equipment, and secret operations of these departments.

The enemy is trying to utilize our aspiration for honest, constructive, and mutually profitable cooperation with capitalist countries in the spheres of economy, science, and culture, as well as in other spheres to carry out subversive actions. The enemy regards the increased openness of our society as a favorable situation for increasing the hostile penetration of the USSR.

In recent years Kazakhstan's Chekists have uncovered several agents of foreign intelligence services. Attempts have been frustrated by diplomat-intelligence agents and other foreigners, connected with the special services of the enemy and with anti-Soviet centers and organizations, to visually gather intelligence on concrete defense installations, to ferret out in the course of official and personal contacts with officials and private persons information of a secret nature on a wide range of military issues and economic and sociopolitical problems, to carry out a hostile surveying of Soviet citizens, and to involve them in hard currency speculation, to spread malicious anti-Soviet materials, and to cause damage to the republic's economy in the sphere of foreign trade relations.

A considerable number of facts have been checked with regard to intentional wrecking of industrial equipment and railways, and the persons involved in this have been uncovered. Criminal cases connected with the unlawful crossing of the state border and smuggling activity have been initiated. On the basis of material supplied by KGB organs, criminal proceedings have been instituted in connection with large-scale plundering, including the case of the former republic Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways, and others.

Unfortunately, we have to admit that persons with low ideological and moral principles and a perverted social orientation continue to surface in our society, who betray the motherland and cause political and economic damage with base motives. For instance, a lecturer at one of the higher educational establishments of Ust-Kamengorsk has passed information of a economic and commercial nature to representatives of Finnish and Japanese firms, hoping to receive financial remuneration. Special services concentrate on precisely these kind of people. They study them thoroughly, come into contact with them, and involve them in criminal activity.

There is another conclusion that ought to be drawn from the experience of Chekists' work. Foreigners who come to our country under orders to gather intelligence, and persons who embark on the path of betrayal often manage to collect intelligence through the violation of the rules of secrecy by people entrusted with secrets, by their gullibility, carelessness, and contemptuous attitude toward the preservation of state and commercial secrets.

I would like to stress that political vigilance and the ability to keep secrets entrusted to one is a civic duty and obligation of every Soviet citizen. Today everybody must remember that the security of our motherland greatly depends on the observance of these principles.

[Journalist] In the 1970s Western mass media organs were actively discussing the issue of the so-called "dissidents" in the USSR, of "curbing" their rights and freedom by the KGB, among other bodies. An opinion existed that "there is no smoke without fire," and there really were prosecutions because of critical pronouncements against the party and state. What can you say about this?

[Miroshnik] I could limit myself to saying that the organs of state security of the Kazakh SSR did not bring to trial any citizens for making critical pronouncements on individual aspects of our reality, either in the 60's or in the 70's.

As for the facts of persecution of so-called "dissidents" which took place in the country earlier, this was done in accordance with the laws that existed at that time. As is known, at present there are no people in prison who have

However, your question is connected with another problem seriously troubling the Chekists. One of the main objects of the subversive activity of the special services of imperialist states and of anti-Soviet organizations has been and still is the moral and political potential of our society, the world outlook of the Soviet person. The enemy looks for any loopholes to implement hostile plans, and at times not without success. I have to say directly: We have had, and still have, carriers of ideas and views alien to socialism. There have been, and there still are, people pursuing selfish ends, who count on gaining political capital by demagogic reasoning and courting the Western reactionary circles. One cannot fail to notice that among the former Soviet citizens who went abroad for various reasons and at various times there are quite a few who, having abandoned the guise of being "persecuted" for unoffensive criticism, the guise of "fighters" for the rights of man, have fully exposed themselves as irreconcilable enemies of socialism and our fatherland. The behavior of such persons makes Soviet citizens deeply resentful.

It is known that various nationalist groupings have taken advantage of the situation of democracy and openness in separate regions of the country. They have started speaking more insistently from extremist and separatist positions. History confirms that separatist movements often lead to a situation where the national interests eventually become victim of the policy of powerful external forces. For this reason, the agitation in the camp of NATO wellwishers is not accidental. Foreign special services and various anti-Soviet nationalist organizations and centers abroad are intensifying their incitement. This fuss is aimed at stirring up discord among nationalities, at undermining the basis of friendship among nationalities and undermining the Soviet state system, and at wrecking perestroyka in the USSR. It is impermissible to play down the danger of this form of subversive activity.

There is no doubt that the nationalities problems are uniquely complex, but they can be resolved, especially considering that the CPSU has put forward a broad platform for their resolution on the basis of realizing the hopes and aspirations of all the nationalities great and small in our country, taking into consideration the highest state interests of the Motherland.

Active "dealers," leaders of some informal groupings, have appeared in our country. They are taking the path of committing unconstitutional deeds. For instance, the positions of the so-called "Democratic Union" are characterized by special extremism. It calls directly for the creation of political structures opposing the CPSU and calls for an open struggle against the socialist system in our country. Attempts to create this kind of association have taken place in Kazakhstan too, and the republican press has already written about this. Here too, irresponsible, ambitious persons with a criminal past, low morality, greed, and with injured prides were eager to take over leadership of informal groupings. The state security organs consider it their task to keep such people from committing unlawful deeds, from sliding down onto the path of betrayal of the Motherland, onto the path of unconstitutional and antisocial actions.

[Journalist] One of the main tasks of the law enforcement organs is to prevent crime, to guard the citizen from committing unlawful actions, to prevent a possible ruination of his life. So, what place does this humane task occupy in the activity of the state security organs? What can you say about the educational function of Chekists?

[Miroshnik] Educational and preventive work has always held a prominent place in the state security organs' activity. To help the person who has erred, to disperse his delusions, to help him to understand the connection between private interests and the interests of society, the interests of a citizen and those of the state, to help him to develop his best qualities—this is one of the most honorable and noble aspects of the Chekists' work. Naturally, the obligatory condition of preventive activity is the observance of the norms of socialist laws, respect for the constitutional rights and freedoms of the Soviet people. If a person who committed acts of delinquency but did not infringe the law deeply regrets having done it and is conscious of the moral and political error of his deed, then the reprimand is limited to talking with him. In most cases citizens adopt a thankful attitude for the timely reaction of Chekists in preventing their sliding onto the path of crime.

[Journalist] At the extended session of the republic's KGB collegium with the participation of representatives of the mass media, there was a talk about the principle of basing themselves on the masses, on the connections with the working people in the activity of the KGB organs. Could you give examples of the implementation of this principle in reality, and examples of cooperation between Chekists and the public, and labor collectives?

[Miroshnik] I must say that Chekists are active participants in this process. Meetings of Chekists with the labor collectives of enterprises, with students and scientific and creative intelligentsia have become more frequent. During the past 3 years our employees have organized over 120 soirees devoted to Chekist subjects, about 8,500 lectures have been delivered, and over 13,000 discussions have been held. Operating on the principle of glasnost, the KGB informs working people about the nature of the subversive activity of the enemy and about the forms and methods of ideological sabotage.

In their turn, the Soviet people— Party member and nonparty member workers, peasants, representatives of intelligentsia, believers and atheists, all honest citizens of our Fatherland —help the Chekist organs to uncover the intelligence and other subversive activity of imperialist special services and of extremist and anti-Soviet actions. In 1988 alone, over 200 citizens visited the reception room of Kazakhstan's KGB. A major part of their information was connected with issues within the scope of the state security organs.

The improvement of work through letters and appeals from citizens constitutes an important element of the connection between the KGB organs and the masses. The republic's working people turn to us with a great variety of issues. They ask us questions, they advise us, they make suggestions regarding raising the effectiveness of the Chekists' work—and we are sincerely thankful to them for this.

I would like to stress that the enemy's special services, and persons with an anti-Soviet and antisocialist frame of mind inside the country, realize well that the reliability of the barrier to their hostile aspirations depends not only on the professionalism of the employees of the Committee for State Security, but also on the KGB's close connections with the working masses, and on the support rendered to their activity by all the people. For this reason KGB organs are becoming ever more frequently the subject of slander and blackening, of direct lies and unfounded accusations. The aim is clear—to undermine the authority of the Chekists, to separate them from the people, and to oppose them to the working people and thus to weaken the state security organs and to open wide the flood gates for the implementation of their criminal plans. I can only express regret that some Soviet citizens who have nothing to do with special services or anti-Soviet elements embark on this path as a result of their political indifference and, at times, moral unscrupulousness. I think that our conversations will help such people to broaden their outlook on this politically important problem.

[Journalist] An employee of the Committee for State Security must feel invested with the greatest responsibility, as the margin between good and evil, delinquency and crime is very narrow and a mistake may turn out to be very dear. The life of a person, his fate. Whom does the state entrust with its security? What are the requirements set for this person?

[Miroshnik] At the January (1987) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, it was noted that the state security organs disposed of professionally trained cadres which were hardened and devoted to the party and the people. This is a high appraisal and it puts great obligations on us. We realize that under existing conditions the exactingness toward the state security organ cadres must be higher than before. A lot is being done by the KGB to raise the professional competence and Knowledge of the law of Chekists, to assure the unasverving and strictest observance of socialist legality by every employee. Of course, it is necessary to admit that mistakes still arise in the work of our individual employees, and deviations from the norms. However, we regard each violation as an extraordinary event. It is thoroughly investigated and measures are taken to prevent such reoccurrences.

In the course of restructuring the activity of the state security organs, the primary task is to learn how to work in the new conditions and in the new political and moral atmosphere which are emerging in the society. Great importance is attached to restructurilng the thinking of our employees, to the abandonment of stereotypes and the search for nonstandard approaches to work, and for flexibility and creativity in that work. The issues of the moral character of Chekists are also kept under constant attention, as well as the Chekists' moral climate and international education. Special importance is attached to the selection of cadres for state security organs, in order for them to be able to join, right from the beginning of their activity, the ranks of active combatants for perestroyka. The first and indispensible condition for this is a strong ideological hardening, a developed intellect, and high moral qualities.

Taking this opportunity, I would like to say that the state security organs of the republic will do everything necessary in order to be equal to the requirements demanded of them. They will display vigilance, self-control, and firmness in the struggle against any encroachments on our state and social system. They will promote by all possible means the party's course for perestroyka and for the renovation of Soviet society.

CPSU Ideologist Interviewed on Perestroyka

LD0711143289 London MORNING STAR in English 7 Nov 89 pp 6-7

[Report on interview with Professor Yuriy Krasin, rector of CPSU Social Sciences Institute, by Kate Clark: "October Revolution—72 today"—date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The economic problems generated by the budget deficit and the unbalanced market are inherited from the period of stagnation under Brezhnev, Mr Krasin says.

"Present shortages are a result of the great disproportion between the amount of money circulating and the amount of goods available."

Yuriy Krasin is in favour of an immediate freeze on the bank accounts of enterprises and individuals, such as there was in Germany after the war.

This, he thinks, would have an immediate positive effect on shortages, because there would be a deficit of money and people would have to think twice before buying 10 or 20 packets of washing powder or soap as they do now.

However, there is no consensus as yet among economists as to how to proceed, as two recent meetings between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and top economists and managers showed.

"Perestroyka is at a crucial stage: It can no longer use authoritarian methods to solve problems, it must use democratic methods.

"It is a revolution effected by reformist methods. This is the main difficulty," argues Mr Krasin.

The current crisis gives rise to criticisms from radicals and conservatives.

From the radicals comes the criticism that perestroika is proceeding too slowly. From the conservatives that it is too fast.

"It is a complex task to steer a correct course. If we move too rapidly, the fabric of social relations in our society, already stretched to the limit, may not withstand the strain.

"But if we move too slowly, perestroika will get stuck in the silt of conservatism—ie, in the old structures which are very good at adapting themselves.

"This is what happened to the reforms of the '50s and '60s," the professor explains.

"Those reforms were very shallow, it was thought then that things could be changed without changing political structures.

"But they can't as we have come to realise." The rapid changes in East European countries, Yuriy Krasin sees as the result of individual processes going on in each, not caused by Soviet perestroika, though clearly influenced by it.

"There is a joint search for a new model of Socialism, one which would respond to the level of modern civilisation and culture," Yuriy Krasin says.

"Its main feature is the demand for self-government by people, who see through the mass media and communications how politics is being done and start to want to decide their fate for themselves."

It is true that there are right-wing trends present in these processes, both here in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, Mr Krasin admits.

This he explains by the fact that these forces were able to understand the people's need for relative independence, casting off the chains of state tutelage, for initiative and entrepreneurship.

State economic levers are inevitable, Mr Krasin maintains, but in a Socialist society they must be changed from the administrative methods of the past to economic methods.

This was the reason, he explained, for the Soviet government backing various forms of ownership, and promoting lease-holding.

"This corresponds to Marx's original idea of Socialism, as a society of freely associated producers," Mr Kraysin stresses.

The present stage is characterised by sharp differences of opinion, many going beyond the framework of Socialism.

"In our party now there is great tolerance toward other opinions," Mr Krasin says. "I consider that this is great progress bearing in mind the long period of complete intolerance.

"If we want to keep a one-party system, we have to make allowances for this, otherwise the new interests will have an outlet in forming other parties.

"However, I don't see it as a big tragedy if new parties were to emerge.

"Inner-party democracy, which respects the opinions of others, including the opinions of minorities, is the main guideline of the part at the present time.

"We are searching for a modern model of Socialism, which would do away with the alienation of the individual from ownership and power that existed in the authoritarian-bureaucratic model of Socialsim.

"It is no longer a question of transferring power to the working class—this is a stage we have already passed."

Even in capitalist countries, the road to Socialism is not seen as solely through one particular class taking power, but through the consensus of a democratic majority, he suggests.

"What we are talking about is the sovereignty of the people, enabling the needs and interests of all strata of our society to be expressed whether they come from workers, peasants or from the intelligentsia.

"We need a society of freely associated producers, where the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all, as Marx envisaged in The Communist Manifesto."

Socialist ideas are growing on a world scale, Mr Krasin says, pointing out that even within capitalism there are today many features, in the economy and social benefits, which are applicable to Socialism.

"What we are seeing now is not the crisis of Socialism, but the crisis of the outdated model of Socialism.

"Perestroika is outlining the contours of the new model to which the future belongs.

"Those who are ready to bury Socialism, because of the difficulties we are going through, will be disappointed."

"The cause of the Great October Revolution is immortal."

Public Opinion Poll on Draft Election Laws

90UN0225A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 44, 4-10 Nov 89 p 3

[Report by A. Levinson: "What the Voters Think"]

[Text] The All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion attached to the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] and the USSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems] conducted a poll in September of the inhabitants of Armenia, Latvia, Lithuania, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] (Russian population only), the Ukraine, and Estonia. The people's attitude toward draft republic laws on elections to republic and local soviets of people's deputies was ascertained.

Here are some of the opinions. Some 80-90 percent of those polled supported having at least two names on the ballot. From 60 to 80 percent supported the election of local soviet chairmen by direct ballot. From 46 percent in the RSFSR to 69 percent in Armenia advocated the direct election of the chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet also.

On the other hand, opinions were divided on the question "is it necessary for a candidate for people's deputy to have worked or lived in the constituency for which he is nominated?" There were many supporters in each republic, but many opponents of this rule also. From 7 to 17 percent of the public agreed that an exception to the rule on obligatory affiliation to the constituency should be made "for top-ranking executives".

Also debatable was the question of the need and possibility of combining in a single person the functions of party and soviet leader of a republic, oblast, and rayon. Let us compare the extreme viewpoints: "This is essential" and "this is impermissible." In support of the first, from 3 to 10 percent in different republics, of the second, as a rule, 25-30 percent, and in Armenia, almost 70 percent. The Russian population of the three Baltic republics definitely spoke of the "undesirability" of a combination of offices.

A vast majority of those polled in all the republics covered by the poll supported the establishment of a minimum period of residence in a given locale for candidates for people's deputy.

To the question "Do you fear interference of the apparatus in the course of the elections?" 71 percent answered in the affirmative in Armenia. Such answers in the RSFSR, Latvia, and the Ukraine constituted 40-50 percent of the number of those polled.

Approximately 20 percent in Russia, the Ukraine, and Armenia supported a guaranteed number of mandates from public organizations.

USSR Deputy on Economy, Ecology Problems

PM2710140789 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 25 Oct 89 p 13

[USSR and Estonian Supreme Soviet deputy Juhan Aare article: "The Soviet Economy Is Disintegrating"]

[Text] When I left Tallinn this time to travel to Moscow as a delegate to the USSR Supreme Soviet, even soap and washing powder had run out in Estonia. How can such goods, which have been on sale for decades, suddenly run out?

An Estonian colleague in the Supreme Soviet in Moscow has just carried out a special study of Soviet washing powder production, because he is a deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet commission for retail trade and service industries. In that capacity he has recently visited enterprises in Moscow, Zagorsk, Tula, and Yaroslavl.

He sees the shortage of soap and washing powder as a reflection of the way people adapt to a collapsing economy. People buy everything of any value at all, and they do so immediately and in the greatest quantities possible, since no one knows what will disappear from the stores tomorrow.

If you believe the official statistics, the planned targets for soap and washing powder have been achieved and even exceeded. As far as the consumption of laundry detergent is concerned the Soviet Union tops the world statistics. Nine departments and 63 enterprises in the union manufacture synthetic detergents. Nevertheless, there is neither soap nor washing powder to be bought in the stores.

Such is our daily life. And how will it be next year? Our decomposing economy could have more unpleasant surprises for us.

When the Supreme Soviet in Moscow recently began its second session of the year, it was repeated time and time again that next year must bring a breakthrough in the Soviet economy. But our past experience does not encourage us to shout "Hurrah!" before we have crossed the stream, or even the river. But unfortunately deputy prime minister L. Voronin's speech did not give any cause for optimism. Even the present Soviet Government uses the same sort of tricks as in the Brezhnev era to try to convince the general public—this many new tractors are being produced, this much more living space commissioned, and so on. If that sort of breakthrough continues, even the goods which so far have been sold without ration cards could disappear from the stores next year.

When Minister Voronin presented the economic plans for the future he attached special importance to efforts in the field of environmental protection. In the last 5-year period only 1.3 percent of GNP was spent on environmental protection; this will now be increased by 12 percent to 1.35 percent of GNP. Is this a little or a lot?

Decide for yourself on the basis of a few facts. Only one factory in two, and only one in three in Moscow, has air-purification equipment. The equipment that there is is often inefficient or does not work at all.

In a single year all sorts of factories and cars spew out, in round figures, 100 million tonnes of air pollution. In the air at some large industrial locations, oxygen levels have fallen considerably. For example, for the furnaces at the Nizhniy Tagil metallurgical plant to function normally, a pipeline several kilometers long must be built to bring in air with a sufficient oxygen content. Falling oxygen levels have also been registered in Zaporozhye and elsewhere.

In the whole of the Soviet Union precipitation has increased by 15 percent. In the steppes more droughts are being noted than before. Specialists link such changes chiefly to environmental damage.

Ground water tables are falling rapidly in all the Soviet Union's industrial areas. In Moldavia 1,000 ground water sources were tested. In more than half of them nitrates were up to 200 times the permitted level. Of the Soviet Union's internal watercourses and coastal seas 75 percent have reached a dangerous level of pollution.

The situation affecting land is also bad. The fertile part of arable land has been depleted by an average of 10-15 cm. It is also worth noting that our low-productivity agriculture uses up such an incredible amount of energy. For every tonne produced our crop husbandry uses 3.7 times more energy than the United States, 4.3 times more than France, and so on. The corresponding figures for animal husbandry are even higher; there we use 10 times more energy than the United States and 41 times more energy than France.

These figures alone indicate that not even the amounts that are now planned to be set aside for environmental protection in the Soviet Union will be enough to halt further environmental damage, much less improve the environment.

In light of this it was particularly worrying to read the section on natural resources in the CPSU program on the nationalities question, which was discussed at the Central Committee plenum in Moscow in September this year. This document expressly stated that the land and natural resources, forests, and water are under the control of both the union republics and the union. No way do they want to see union republics as sovereign states. But Estonia must become self-governing if we are to be able to save our environment! An important step toward self-government must be taken in Moscow this fall. The question of economic self-government for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania is the seventeenth item on the Supreme Soviet's agenda for the current session.

Despite the information blockade against us in PRAVDA, the central party newspaper, and other Soviet media, there is now a trend among delegates to the Supreme Soviet which the conservative forces wanted to avoid at all costs. This is also shown by the poll recently carried out within the group of proreform delegates from various parts of the union. Of those interviewed:

40 percent considered that farmers should be given the right to buy and sell their land, while 54 percent considered that they should be given the right to use the land in perpetuity, and no one considered that the present system can continue;

27 percent considered that the union republics ought to be permitted to secede, while 65 percent thought that it ought to be possible but not advisable, and only 8 percent thought that no republic should ever be allowed to secede from the union;

60 percent were convinced that the Soviet economy will inevitably grow even worse over the next 2 years;

64 percent considered a return to the previous authoritarian system fully possible, and 22 percent considered that this return has already begun.

Since only a small section of all delegates to the Supreme Soviet took part in the survey, we must of course be cautious about drawing too far-reaching conclusions from it. But the replies give cause for reflection. God grant that there will not be too strong a backlash—and that the Soviet Union can continue to develop into a democratic, law-based state, and a federation of self-governing states.

To help promote such a development the Baltic delegates have recently formed a joint group in the Supreme Soviet in Moscow. Together we will work for self-government for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and for economic and political reforms in the whole of the Soviet Union.

Youth Paper Forced To Delete Chernobyl Story

PM0611162789 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 44, 29 Oct 89 (Signed to Press 24 Oct 89) p 5

[Report by Sergey Naumchik, correspondent of the journal VOZHYK: "Truth Suppressed Twice Over"]

[Text] Minsk—There was a throng of people at the steps of the House of the Press in Minsk 19 October. A display stand of the youth newspaper CHERVONAYA ZMENA was attracting attention. True, instead of the normal edition, the printer's proofs bearing the proofreader's corrections were on display. And alongside was a handwritten notice: "This article has been removed from today's edition by the censor." Let me explain. The item in question was a reprint of the "Roundtable" from MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI No. 42: "Great Lie. Who Will Answer for the Concealment of the True Causes and Results of the Chernobyl Tragedy?"

"In general we are not keen on reprints," Anatoliy Zekov, deputy editor of CHERVONAYA ZMENA, explains, "but on this occasion we made an exception. We had received many telephone calls asking us to acquaint the public at large with details about which the republic press prefers to keep silent. In short, the article was translated into Belorussian and typeset on two pages. At approximately 1830 hours, when one of the pages had already been signed, Konstantin Ostrinskiy, Belorussian Lenin Communist Youth League [Komsomol] Central Committee secretary, arrived at the editorial office. 'You know,' he said, 'it would be better if this article was not published.' I proposed to get the editorial collegium together and put the matter to the vote; however Ostrinskiy rejected this proposal and we removed the article. I don't know; maybe it was cowardly of me, but..." To my question about where this order came from, Ostrinskiy shrugged his shoulders and said: "From above."

Hence, the censor as such is not to blame here. So who was the initiator of the "political censorship?" Above the Central Committee secretary there are the second and first secretaries. The first secretary was in Moscow at the time, so I called Aleksey Krivdenko, the second secretary.

"I don't understand what you are calling about," he said, puzzled. "At the last Central Committee plenum we approved a program of Komsomol action to eliminate the consequences of the accident, we are setting up a special department..."

"Does this mean that the decision to remove the article published in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI did not originate in the Komsomol organs?"

"Let's end this useless discussion."

Pressure on the press is, alas, nothing new in Belorussia. And it is not the first time that the youth newspaper's journalists have had to uphold the readers' right to truthful information. A year ago when the Belorussian Telegraph Agency BELTA carried a stream of articles marked "to be published without fail" lashing out at activists of the newly established anti-Stalin society "Martirolog Belorussii," the collective of the CHERVONAYA ZMENA opposed their republication. When on 30 October 1988 a rally in Kuropaty was dispersed, a photoreport was removed from its page four times. Also at that time, Deputy Editor Zekov took it upon himself to publish an article about prospecting work at the proposed site of the Belorussian nuclear electric power station [AES], an article which had been removed a week earlier from an edition of VITEBSKIY RABOCHIY by order of V. Grigoryev, first secretary of the party obkom. The public campaign against siting the AES on the territory of the republic was crowned with success, but Zekov, who had refused to give in, got his deserts: anonymous as ever, the higher authorities refrained from appointing him to the post of editor which had fallen vacant.

And now there is the story of the reprint of the undesirable article from MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. Did the article fail to get into print because... as Ales Adamovich noted at the "roundtable"... people guilty of the lies about Chernobyl are unable to change the situation and can only continue twisting and turning and lying?

...Incidentally, the proofs did not remain on the display stand for even an hour. They were torn down. By whom?

"I saw that man for the first time," Zekov said, "he burst into my office and threatened that the author of the notice would be identified by his handwriting."

And a final point: The article was removed from the newspaper on the very day that the latest Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was being held. "We resolutely oppose the striving... to distort the truth for the benefit of a narrow circle of people," Yefrem Sokolov, Central Committee first secretary, said at the plenum. A great deal was also said on that day about the fact that nothing should be kept secret from the people...

Two New Publishing Houses To Open

LD0311221789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1655 GMT 3 Nov 89

[Summary] Moscow, 3 Nov (TASS)—TASS correspondent Ruben Mikhaylov reports: It has been decided to open a new publishing house in Moscow, according to Nikolay Yefimov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, who was speaking at a press conference today. It will be called Druzhba Narodov and its objective will be to increase the publication of works by the best writers from the Soviet Union and autonomous republics.

Ekologiya is the name of another publishing house that is to open in Moscow.

According to Yefimov, the publishing industry has become much more independent since perestroyka began, but it is still hampered by a shortage of paper since the USSR ranks only 42d in the world in terms of the volume of paper manufactured.

Contents of KOMMUNIST No 16 Reported

PM0711164989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Journal's Latest Issue"]

[Text] KOMMUNIST No 16 has been published. It opens with M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the PRAVDA editorial office: "Conducting an Open Dialogue With People."

The new leaders of general economic departments—V. Senchagov of the USSR State Committee for Prices and V. Gerashchenko of the USSR State Bank—set out their ideas and approaches to acute current problems of economic reform, market stabilization, and improvement of the monetary and financial system in conversation with the journal's correspondents.

Why has the science of party history not yet been able to take on a genuinely scientific complexion? What conditions are needed to effect a breakthrough in this scientific discipline? These are the issues considered in a discussion article by O. Volobuyev, S. Kuleshov, and V. Shelokhayev.

As ever, the journal contains a large "Public Opinion" section. It includes a letter from A. Nysanbayev and F. Suleymanov "Could Philosophy Sink Lower Than Dogmatism?" and reactions to items in the journal, including the debate on halting work on the construction of the Volga-Chogray Canal and also the draft new Energy Program.

The pages of history are represented by a selection of the reminiscences of people belonging to various social strata and parties, under the title "October 1917: Contributing to the Picture of the Revolution."

There is an article entitled "The Pluralism of the 1920's" whose author A. Kovalev seeks, from an historian's standpoint, an answer to the complex questions of our existence in society today.

The items on social life abroad include "Hungary: The Reform Priority" by S. Kolesnikov and Ye. Shashkov, written at the end of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Congress which founded the Hungarian Socialist Party. An article by N. Simoniya considers the problems of coexistence among different socioeconomic entities and multifaceted transitional social structures. The journal publishes a synopsis of the Socialist International's "Declaration of Principles," adopted at its 18th congress this year.

Yefimov on Legal Literature Publication Plans

PM0811094589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report by M. Semenyuk: "An Aid for Lawyers and for Us"]

[Text] N. Yefimov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Press, told journalists about the new all-union program for the publication of legal literature to ensure universal legal education in the country in 1990-1995. The adoption of the program is perfectly legitimate; indeed fewer than 20 percent of practical workers in the justice sphere are provided with standard reference materials.

The new program includes laws which will be discussed and adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, other normative acts, the texts of very important international documents on human rights, popular scientific and reference works, original works by major Soviet and foreign academic lawyers, monuments of legal thought, books for children and young people, and, of course, educational literature on the basic legal disciplines. In all the program envisages the publication of 240 titles and a total of more than 70 million copies. This is three times the size of the current editions.

The USSR Supreme Soviet for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, the USSR Ministry of Justice, the State Committee for Public Education, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law participated in the preparation of the program.

Inappropriate Militia Functions Deplored

PM2710141089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Second Edition p 6

[Article by Candidate of Legal Sciences O. Galustyan, major general of the Internal Troops: "Sentry Duty by the Waiting Line, or Is the Militia Always Doing Its Job?"]

[Text] It was not without a slight sense of envy that I read in PRAVDA (25 August) about the attitude of the English to their policemen, the "bobbies." In the FRG too, incidentally, 84 percent of inhabitants (according to a selective study) are well disposed, even friendly, toward the repressive apparatus of their state. And what about us? Sociologists report that 55 percent of Muscovites polled have a negative attitude toward the militia. Nearly 60 percent answered "no" to the question: Would you advise your relatives to choose the profession of militiaman?

Yes, the prestige of the internal affairs organs has patently declined. Some of my colleagues are even embarrassed to wear their uniform, and only feel confident in civilian clothes. Let us be frank: it is a distressing situation, especially at a time when the crime situation is deteriorating sharply. It is not within the powers of the law enforcement organs alone to cope with the onslaught of criminality—they need help, assistance. But what kind of help can you expect from people who do not respect you?

I have noticed that they have started publishing decrees on awards to militia workers more often, and the press has suddenly substituted kindness for anger—it has switched from large-scale criticism to eulogies. Perhaps they will remove the gasoline quotas for militia vehicles and provide new transport as good as the criminals have, and supply computers, and increase wages.

But is that the only problem?

I was once listening to a speech by a leading worker of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] of a small autonomous republic where they had developed their own information system based on computers.

"The oblast party committee [obkom] first secretary himself," he said almost with glee, "before going to visit any collective, comes to us. And we give him, if you like, full information—how many people have been to the sobering-up station and who they were, who has been fined, and so forth."

However, the introduction of computers, the repositories of such "valuable" information, has contributed nothing to the results of the struggle against crime in that republic. The late Vil Lipatov, the writer, once spoke of today's "transistorized petit bourgeois." The petit bourgeois in militia uniform can adapt costly electronic equipment so as to count immoral acts and calmly ignore human tragedy.

Therefore I have no intention of protecting the militia from criticism. On the contrary, it is necessary to talk more about its shortcomings and their causes, its problems, and its functions in present-day society.

In N.S. Khrushchev's memoirs there is a moment when the all-seeing Stalin notices the shortage of toilets in Moscow—"for the smallest thing, people run around not knowing where to relieve themselves"—and ordered the city party committee [gorkom] and the Moscow City soviet to rectify this shortcoming. "Naturally," Khrushchev writes, "I launched, so to speak, frantic activity, investigated every yard with Comrade Bulganin, and goaded the militia into action."

This "historical" episode is interesting not for the reason, but for the ease with which it was possible to "goad the militia into action" and use it at the whim of the apparatus. The desire to resolve many social problems by means of criminal legal bans was clearly manifested in state policy. This could not but affect the very nature and methods of the militia's work. Lack of respect for the individual turned into rudeness, disregard for procedural norms, and violations of the rule of law. The citizens, in turn, responded to the militia with reciprocal disrespect.

What has changed since that time, and has it really changed? Alas, not very much, as far as the relationship between the party and soviet apparatus and the militia is concerned. As Marx used to say, the curse of the dead weighs on the minds of the living. The apparatus has not yet lost the habit of giving orders and "goading into action" the militia, and if necessary the Prosecutor's Office, the KGB, the Army—because that is, of course, much easier than persuasion, dialogue, and influence through words and by example. Law enforcement organs, first and foremost the militia, were until recently mainly responsible for the propagation and execution of ill-conceived decisions. It was they, first and foremost, who took all the flak.

Let us recall, for instance, the militia's participation in the notorious anti-alcohol campaign. Rayon department chiefs regularly reported to the party committees how many drunks had been arrested on the streets. If it turned out to be fewer than in the same period previously, it meant they had eased up in the struggle. After that, militia patrols started sniffing. For example, the Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On the Basic Duties and Rights of the Soviet Militia in the Protection of Public Order and the Struggle Against Crime," which is currently in force. Thus the militia is supposed to supervise compliance with sanitation regulations governing the maintenance of streets, yards, and other territories in settlements, as well as out-of-town leisure sites and beaches; assist military commissariats in the drafting of young people for active military service; ensure the enforcement of the passport system in the country; control and ban the functioning of printing, stamping, and engraving enterprises; confiscate duplicating equipment, presses, and stamps, and so forth.

To what extent are these tasks connected with maintaining law and order and combating crime? Hardly at all. But nearly all these functions are of a controversial nature, especially if you take into account that the local party and soviet organs often give them localistic interpretations.

In Checheno-Ingushetia (I was there recently on a mission) the leaders of Zavodskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee [rayispolkom] make precinct militia inspectors patrol ordinary scrap heaps, count the piles of trash, and report daily to the rayispolkom. How does that differ from the Khrushchev-Bulganin toilet epic?! And what attitude will people take to a sentry in the uniform of a senior militia officer who is stationed by a garbage heap?

And the militia is also instructed to detain stray livestock and help shoot dogs. That is how the militia's "sanitary" functions are interpreted.

Instructions from "above" show disrespect for militia staffers and also for people in general, along with the same old habit of giving orders without regard. I remember a rally in Tynda in the fall of 1984 on the occasion of the opening of through traffic on the Baykal-Amur Railroad. It began with great ceremony, but the speeches, as was the custom then, were long, and the day was terribly cold, and windy too, and people started moving away from the cordoned-off square. One of the comrades asked:

"Why are the people going away?"

"It's cold, people are frozen, there are a lot of children."

"So close the road. Keep them here. Can't you see who is on the platform?"

Or another example. The local organs of power in many cities, especially in the south, believe they have the right to dictate fashion and regulate the depth of women's necklines and the length of their skirts. The militia is supposed to implement these puritanical prescriptions. Because there is, for instance, the normative act signed in September [illegible] by [illegible], chairman of the Sochi City Soviet Executive Committee: an Executive Committee decision "On the Sanitary Condition, Amenities, and Resort Facilities in the City of Sochi." This section of the document makes militia workers direct young people to observe decent dress, and patrol all the streets and squares and not allow them [illegible].

What [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

All this is, in my view, a legacy of the old system and a recurrence of the administrative edict style, which was a "successful" substitute for democratic forms of leadership. It has not, unfortunately, become a thing of the past. Therefore, the law on the militia that is to be submitted to the Supreme Soviet for discussion should certainly define clearly the militia's tasks and functions, avoid ambiguities, and define the relationship with soviet and party organs. I think the militia should be subordinate not to the ispolkom, but only to the soviet, the people's deputies, and it should be accountable to them alone.

...I have written before now that the urgent task is not only to change the "status" of the militia in the population's eyes, but also to change the staffers' mentality. They should regard their duties as a service to the population and give people a sense of ease and safety on the streets and in public places, and still more in their own apartments, a sense of protection against all encroachments.

And that is only possible given the further establishment of democracy and glasnost and every person's awareness of his own dignity.

More on Medvedev Speech at Rubber Plant

PM0611160989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Toward the Original Values of Socialism"]

[Excerpts] The success of perestroyka would be illusory and fragile if it had not become the cause of millions and, above all, of the country's working class. This is why, at its various stages, it is so important for the party to check the course of our society's renewal, to consult with people, and together to seek answers to the acutest questions. Precisely this desire for an interested dialogue determined the atmosphere of the 2 November meeting between V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the collective of Moscow's "Kauchuk" Production Association. [passage omitted]

After conversations in the shops V.A. Medvedev met with the plant's working people. Characterizing the period through which the country is living, he emphasized that we are now at a very important turning point in perestroyka, on which the prospect of society's further development largely depends. Despite the difficulties, the country is confidently taking the course of perestroyka. New political mechanisms and new organs of state power at the center have begun functioning. Next in line is the reconstruction of the political mechanisms at the republic, oblast, city, and rayon levels.

In the economic sphere we are getting down to the very essence, to the transformation of relations of socialist ownership. This will resolve the chief problem and enable the person not only to feel that he is, but also to really be, the master of production. The conversations which I have just had with workers and specialists and the acute problems which have become urgent in production and social life but which are being resolved extremely slowly, V.A. Medvedev said, have convinced me that the labor collective must act more vigorously to resolve the urgent problems. It must not go on working like this. In this respect your decision to lease the whole enterprise as of 1 January 1990 is very timely. But careful preparations must be made for this, and not just by leaders and specialists. Leasing means the fullest economic accountability, which involves every working person in the management of his own enterprise.

Together with the consistently developing reforms of the political and economic system, the CPSU Central Committee secretary went on to say, processes are arising in our life which are complicating the situation in the country. These include the unsatisfied public demand for many foodstuffs and industrial goods, the strikes, the drop in labor and social discipline, and the continuing tension in interethnic relations. All this lies as a burden on people's consciousness and general spiritual state. There is a stormy process of discussion on how to get out of this position. The debate is assuming an acute nature, and there is a great diversity of opinions. As always in such cases, extreme views arise.

Some people argue like this: We used to live somehow, neither too badly nor too well. Have we not set the cat among the pigeons to no avail? Should we not go back? Such sentiments feed on forces of inertia, habit, stereotypes, and adherence to the old, including on the part of certain management apparatus workers. They try to blame the difficulties that have arisen on perestroyka and to incite public opinion against it.

It is impossible to agree with such conservative sentiments, V.A. Medvedev declared. Our difficulties are not caused by perestroyka. They have been inherited from the past and are rooted in the former management system, in the former way of social life. Perestroyka has merely brought these phenomena to light, and glasnost has made them known to all people. Our society has achieved perestroyka through suffering, and it is the only chance which history gives us to lead the country out onto the broad road of social progress.

There is another extreme too. This consists in the view that perestroyka is not being carried out decisively and drastically enough. This thought in itself has a right to life. We all want to see the fruits of renewal more quickly. But the thing is that critics "on the left" do not stop at this but propose, so they say, to destroy at a stroke everything inherited from the past. Calls are being made not only to purge our socialist society of distortions but to revise its very foundations. It is from these positions that criticism of socialism, Lenin, and October is being developed and our basic social gains and values revised. It is quite impossible to agree with this. We proceed from the premise that the country's working class and our entire people are true to their social choice and will allow no one to turn the country from the socialist path. Socialism has not yet revealed its historic potential. It is necessary to work on this. Perestroyka has in mind precisely the renewal of socialism, not its dismantling.

Which practical measures does today's situation demand? The Central Committee secretary pointed out that their totality was defined by the CPSU Central Committee September Plenum and embodied in the decisions which the USSR Supreme Soviet is discussing and adopting.

It is necessary, above all, to concentrate on the most acute problems creating tension in society. Among these it is necessary to single out in particular the question of normalizing the consumer market. The plan and budget for next year approved by the Supreme Soviet lay good foundations for real progress in this direction.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary analyzed in detail the problems connected with restructuring party work and overcoming its lag behind the processes taking place in society. The party was the initiator of perestroyka, he said, and it drew fire upon itself by subjecting its activity in past periods to very rigorous criticism. And it called for purification, for our society to be raised to a qualitatively new level of development. And it is now the guarantor of perestroyka. But the dynamics of social life are so fleeting that they require amplification of the course, amplification of the functions, and renewal of the forms and methods of party work. The decision adopted by the Central Committee's September plenum on the early convening of the 28th CPSU Congress proceeds from an understanding of this.

Previously the party was, in point of fact, the nucleus of the whole managerial system, as it were. It took on everything: state affairs, economic affairs, social affairs. Now we are resolutely getting away from that model. The party is called upon to be the political vanguard of society and to be responsible for the formulation of policy and its practical implementation through Communists. It is necessary to more boldly take the path of creating a dynamic, ramified, flexible political system and remember that such a system can operate only on condition of the profound democratization of the party itself.

The party's release from interference in the operational activities of state, economic, and managerial organs must be accompanied by an intensification of its ideological work. Prohibitive-permissive methods have vanished into the past. Dialogue must be the party activist's weapon today. He must be able to discuss, demonstrate, and convince people. A serious perestroyka of the mass media is taking place in this area and is aimed at enhancing their role in resolving, above all, constructive tasks of perestroyka.

The progress of perestroyka, V.A. Medvedev said in conclusion, is rightly being criticized for tardiness and mistakes. But perestroyka's [illegible] in terms of its profound essence and its orientation toward the working person's interests. And this is why it is close to the hearts of, and comprehensible to, millions of people. This is why the opinion of the working class—the leading force in society, on whose position, in the final analysis, the success of our renewal, the continuation of the October cause, and the strengthening of socialism depend—is so important to us today.

The working audience listened with interest to the opinion of one of the party's leaders on the special features of the political and economic situation in the country and voiced support for his views on the priorities at the present stage of perestroyka. The discussion turned out frank, without reservations or closed topics. The multitude of questions which were asked that evening reflected the solid knot of worries around which the life of working Moscow revolves today.

In the Leninskiy Rayon CPSU Committee the same day V.A. Medvedev met with members of the rayon committee bureau and with secretaries of a number of primary party organizations. There a wide range of questions connected with the present-day tasks of party committees and with their impact on the reform of the political system and the consolidation of all forces of perestroyka during the period of preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress was discussed in a pointed and interested manner.

Secretary Manayenko Visits Moscow Steel Mill

PM0611165189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Yu. Makhrin report under the general heading "Meetings with the Capital's Labor Collectives"]

[Excerpts] The "Serp i Molot" plant near the Lenin Gate is the only enterprise in Moscow which has been producing excellent steel for more than 100 years now. Excellent steel! This is an unshakable labor tradition of people performing a keen vigil. [Passage omitted]

"There is no better steel than ours!" metallurgists proudly told Yu.A. Manayenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who visited the Serp i Molot plant on 3 November. [Passage omitted]

The CPSU Central Committee secretary left the Serp i Molot plant late in the evening. In an interview with your TASS correspondent, Yu.A. Manayenko said:

"The plant has almost completed its modernization and retooling. It must make up for lost time without slackening the pace of production. That is not all. You feel that the general mood of this collective, with its wealth of revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions, is good. The workers support perestroyka and the renewal of socialism."

Biryukova Attends Kremlin Ceremonial Soiree

LD2510221489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Excerpts] A ceremonial soiree in the Columned Hall of the House of the Unions was today dedicated to the 125th birth anniversary of (Toktogul Sotulganov). Masaliyev, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia, spoke about (Toktogul). [passage omitted]

Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Nishanov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet; and prominent cultural figures and representatives of the public were present at the soiree.

Biryukova, Usmanov Attend Soiree for Poet

PM2610140589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Singer of Friendship"]

[Excerpts] A ceremonial soiree to mark the 130th anniversary of the birth of Kosta Khetagurov, the great Osetian poet, social activist, revolutionary democrat, founder of Osetian literature and literary language, and eminent teacher was held 23 October in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Unions in Moscow. [Passage omitted]

Present at the soiree were A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; G.I. Usmanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities; and eminent cultural figures and representatives of the public.

Society for Russian Spiritual Values Set Up

LD0611122189 Moscow TASS in English 1148 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow November 6 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Prokhorov:

A public association to study Russian spiritual values opened a few days ago at the Moscow "Sovremennik" club.

The association's opening meeting was addressed by Sergey Averintsev, a philosopher and culturologist, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The association members will hear lectures on old Russia's philosophical and artistic thinking, the correlation between the state and the individual in Russia's intellectual life, old Rusian symbols and books.

A prominent Moscow diocese dignitary promised to give lectures on Russian saints.

This is only one of many public associations, formed by Muscovites recently to help people plunge into a world of spiritual values, until recently closed to them.

Muscovites, young people primarily, unite not only around Moscow clubs. Circles and societies to study the cultural wealth that the Russian people and Russia were always famous for, are starting functioning under the auspices of the Soviet Culture Foundation, the All-Russia Society for Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, and a number of Moscow museums.

And the striving for access to Russia's rich spiritual values is being witnessed not only in Moscow.

A public meeting, held in Zagorsk (a Moscow suburb) last week in memory of the founder of the Trinity-St. Sergius Lavra, Sergius Radonezhsky, a prominent religious and public figure of 14th century Russia, drew a capacity audience.

Lectures and conversations in memory of Fyodor Dostoyevskiy, a great writer and thinker, in Lipetsk, the centre of the Russia Federation, where Dostoyevskiy lived and wrote his books, were overrun by eager participants.

A open scietific conference, held in Saratov last week and devoted to the cultural traditions of the historical cities on the banks of the Volga also attracrted many people.

It would perhaps be premature to speak of the revival of old traditions of Russia's spiritual culture, but perestroika, which is gaining momentum in the Soviet Union, is a pointer to the beginnings of such a revival.

Mediterranean Studies Center Founded

LD0411095389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0304 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] A center for Mediterranean studies has been set up. It will function under the Institute of Europe of the USSR Academy of Science and the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. The Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the countries of Asia and Africa, and the Soviet Peace Fund are also among its founders. The main tasks of the center include contributing to the expansion of the scale and the raising of the level of scientific work in the USSR on the problems of the Mediterranean, and also the development of ties within the USSR, and internationally, between scientists of the relevant specialities.

Economic

Role of Defense Conversion in Economy Outlined

90UN0208A Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Conversion: The Moscow Radius of Action"; "Meeting of the Capital's Party-Economic Aktiv"]

[Text] The determination of the short-term and long-term tasks of conversion and the development of approaches to carrying them out taking into account the new system of economic relations that is being formed in the country's national economy and the Moscow region were the subject of discussion at a meeting of the capital's party and economic aktiv held yesterday. Gathering in the social and political center of the Moscow city committee and the Moscow committee of the CPSU were secretaries of party organizations, general designers, directors, chairmen of councils of labor collectives and trade union committees of industrial enterprises and scientific institutions, secretaries of CPSU rayon committees and chairmen of rayispolkoms [rayon executive committees], ministers and secretaries of party committees of union and republic ministries, officials of the State Committee of the USSR Council of Ministers for Military-Industrial Questions, the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee], the USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], the USSR Ministry of Defense, deputy chairmen and chiefs of main administrations of the Moscow gorispolkom, chairmen of the Moscow City Trade Union Council, and bureaus of central committees of branch trade unions.

"The scale of conversion and its socioeconomic consequences will exert a significant influence on the development of Moscow as one of the largest economic centers of the country" said L.N. Zaykov, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow city party committee, as he opened the meeting. "The enterprises and organizations of the capital's defense complex play an essential role in its economy and affect its social image to a significant degree.

"Suffice it to say that more than one-third of the volume of industrial production and half of all the scientific research and experimental design work of an applied nature conducted in Moscow come from enterprises, scientific research institutes, and design bureaus of the defense industry. One-fourth of the city's workers are employed in the defense complex. This determines the measure of responsibility that lies with all of us for the adoption and implementation of decisions concerning conversion in the region and makes it necessary to develop measures for controlling this process."

I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Committee for Military-Industrial Questions, spoke at the conference.

In the modern stage of development of international relations the possibility of providing for the country's security has enabled the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the government to adopt a decision for stage-by-stage reduction of military expenditures by 14.2 percent, including reduction of deliveries of arms and military equipment by 19.5 percent and the volume of scientific research and experimental design work by 15 percent in 1991.

A typical example: For the first time in many years as a result of the reduction of the output of military aircraft and helicopters we have achieved a real increase in the deliveries of passenger aircraft for civil aviation and for export and, striving to create a stockpile for a significant increase in the output of aircraft for Aeroflot under the 13th 5-Year Plan, we have planned an annual increase in the production volumes for civil aviation of 28 percent as compared to the usual 5 percent. Muscovites have been called upon to make a weighty contribution to this, above all, the development and testing of Il-114, Tu-204 and Tu-334 aircraft and also the Yak-42M.

Conversion creates prerequisites for solving problems of national economic significance of the kind that previously were not even dreamed of: Under the 13th 5-Year Plan achieving complete satisfaction of the demand of civil aviation for passenger aircraft. Special significance is being attached to Moscow in this matter.

An essential role in the development of the state plan for the conversion of the defense industry should be assigned to the USSR Academy of Sciences. This is the more necessary since, in keeping with the decision of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, it is responsible for comprehensive scientific development of the problems of conversion of military production.

In spite of the difficulties of restructuring the economy of the defense complex, one can say that "without shutting down" serious changes must be made in the interests of the national economy as early as 1990. We are speaking about a significant increase in the growth rates of civilian output through reduction of the output of military equipment and active utilization of the complex's scientific and technical potential for civilian items.

At the same time we must get rid of the ingrained ideas that the defense complex is saturated with the latest technical equipment and that for the defense complex there are no limitations on financing, the allotment of hard currency, and so forth. It is also wrong to think that in the defense complex there are great advantages in wages over those who work in the civilian branches of industry. The idea of the defense complex as one that swallows up state resources without restriction is erroneous and dangerous, I.S. Belousov emphasized.

Yes, our people have created the necessary conditions to provide for the country's security in the most difficult periods of its development. Yes, taking away from themselves, our people have provided the necessary equipment for our army, air force, and navy. The expenditures were large but in the situation of the cold war and the arms race there was no other way. But in recent years, fortunately, the situation has changed. This is a manifestation of the will, the persistence, and the sober and correct evaluation of the situation on the part of the Central Committee of our party and our government.

The defense potential created by the people now and only now, because of the new approaches and because of the real results that have been achieved in detente and because of—and this is the main thing—the new political thinking, can and should be used to a greater degree than before for developing the country's national economy and for solving the most crucial national economic problems.

However, all this must be done intelligently, with a cool head, on the basis of in-depth economic analysis. Regardless of how great the scale of conversion may be, it is subject to precise calculation; it is great but not limitless, and it can be used only in a specific, limited number of areas, for any other approach will lead to a dispersion of resources and to an "erosion" of the possibilities of conversion so that the people will not experience any appreciable results. This cannot be allowed, for then an economic mistake would inevitably grow into a political one.

For the country's economy, especially in a difficult financial and economic situation, a reduction of expenditures on arms and conversion of the defense industry mean a significant release of financial resources for solving national economic problems.

Conversion will make it possible before the end of the 5-year plan to produce 12 million rubles' worth more nonfood consumer goods than were envisioned by the 5-year plan, to increase sharply the growth rates of the deliveries of equipment for processing agricultural products, and to increase significantly the deliveries of equipment for light industry, trade, and public catering.

In 1990 the defense complex is to produce a total of 1.3 billion rubles' worth of medical equipment (as compared to 993 million rubles' worth in 1989) and in 1995 it will manufacture 2.7 billion rubles' worth of this technical equipment.

Conversion gives us justification for counting on a significant increase in the output of electronic equipment: The production volumes should be doubled over the next 5-year plan. Under the 13th 5-Year Plan the output of personal computers will increase by a factor of 5 and computer equipment by a factor of 3. The production of means of communication will increase by 80 percent.

On the whole the assessment of the situation that has developed and the comparison of the capabilities of the defense industry with the needs of the national economy make it possible to confirm the "sore spots" for whose treatment the defense industry will be used: Equipment for the processing branches of the agroindustrial complex, for light industry, trade, and public catering, nonfood consumer goods, electronic equipment, computer equipment, medical equipment, means of communication, civil aviation, maritime transportation, and fishing ships.

Of course this does not rule out the possibility that defense enterprises can participate in the work in other areas of science and technology in the country's national economy. For example, we are now discussing the possibility of creating an experimental magnetic suspension transportation artery from Sheremetyevo to the center of Moscow. Even in this stage of the discussion the Special Design Bureau imeni A.S. Yakovlev (A.A. Levinskikh, general designer) is actively engaged in the work and is taking responsibility for creating ground "carriage" which will nonetheless have the speed of aircraft of 400-500 kilometers per hour.

Adding an acceleration unit to the largest energy carrier in the world, 'Energiya,' will make it possible to put into geostationary orbit a communications satellite with a unified space platform weighing up to 18 tons. And this will make it possible to make a qualitative leap in the creation of a new communications structure within the country. Such a space system can be used not only for transmitting a large number of telephone signals, but also for exchanging television and radio programs among oblasts and republics, transferring large masses of information between computer centers, and organizing teleconferences.

The speaker went on to explain the government position on including the defense complex (of both industry and science) in the aforementioned areas. Those who consider it expedient to include the defense complex in a considerably larger number of areas of the national economy should take into account that the erosion of the capabilities of the defense industry will not produce an appreciable advantage.

One also frequently encounters the viewpoint that it is inadmissible to use the released capacities for producing equipment for the agroindustrial complex, light industry, trade, and public catering, and they should be used for products closer to the initial profile in terms of scale, sizes, technical complexity, and so forth. At first glance this seems correct. But one must not forget that the country's economy is in extreme conditions (this pertains above all to agriculture and the saturation of the market with goods) and, correspondingly, the measures should be extreme and calculated for solving the problem in 2-3 years.

And who, for example, can solve the problem of equipment for the agroindustrial complex? Who in this amount of time can organize the production of the same quantity of equipment as was made during all the past 40 years? What complex? Metallurgical, chemical-forestry, energy? Machinebuilding? The last is the closest to the defense industry in terms of technical capabilities, but the level of machinebuilding in the country itself required the adoption of immediate measures.

Moreover, if we wish, not in words but in deeds, to produce these products at the world level, in terms of design is it really much simpler than defense products? No. There are "gadgets" that are just as difficult as the most modern defense equipment.

We are all residents of Moscow where one must assume that the provision of goods is a little better than in other regions. But in spite of this there are not enough good products and what does appear in the stores is "swept from the counters." There are not enough technically complicated goods, and the responsibility for creating these previously lay largely on the defense complex. The quality of the goods is clearly not as good as the quality of those made in developed capitalist countries. Who besides defense workers can really solve this problem? Who can provide for making television sets at the quality level of Sony, stereo systems at the level of Sharp, cameras at the level of Nikon, and motorcycles at the level of Honda?

None other than the defense industry can really provide for this in the next few years!

The general direction during the period of conversion should be a large amount of organizational work for transferring to the national economy the new materials and technologies used in the defense industry. Incidentally, this work should be organized at a new level and not just because of conversion but because of the obvious shortcomings in the organization of all the work during the entire period of the creation of military equipment and arms.

The conversion of defense enterprises of Moscow will make it possible under the 13th 5-Year Plan to considerably increase the production of nonfood consumer goods that are extremely necessary to the national economy. The volume of their production should reach more than R3 billion by 1995 or should increase by 65 percent.

During the course of the development of the draft of the plan for conversion it will be necessary to clarify questions of changing scientific research and design organizations over to the development and creation of new models of civilian products and consumer goods that correspond to the latest achievements of science and technology. Perhaps this is the most difficult question, which touches on the organizational, economic, social, and moral aspects.

Is it possible to find solutions in scientific research institutes, design bureaus, and plants—solutions that are unexpected, progressive, and unusual? Of course. Here is an example: Because of the initiative of the Design Bureau imeni P.O. Sukhoy (M.P. Simonov, general designer) an interesting business contact was arranged with the Americans for creating supersonic and subsonic business aircraft. We are speaking about a modern enterprise.

The creation of an information network in Moscow should be an important step in improving computer service for the population, increasing computer literacy, and enlisting youth in solving problems of information science. There are now 17 of these centers in operation in 14 regions of the city. In 9 months about 350,000 people have visited the information centers. In keeping with a joint decree of the Mosgorispolkom [Moscow city executive committee] and the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, in 1989-1990 such centers will be created in every region of the capital.

During the course of the development of the draft of the state plan for conversion, the nondefense branches received new suggestions for using in the national economy the scientific and technical potential of the defense complex in the area of materials and technologies. About 1,000 more proposals are being prepared. This work is extremely important and should be given a place in the refined program Progress-95. But so far the work is proceeding without enthusiasm and, the main thing, it is uninteresting. The defense complex even now is annually transferring to other branches up to 100,000 sets of technological documentation for the introduction of its scientific and technical achievements into the national economy. But the developers have practically no information on how to use it. All of this work must be systematized.

Just from the results of the creation of the 'Buran' space rocket system more than 600 modern technologies, new materials, and developed technical means were suggested for use in the national economy. It should be noted that about 150 scientific research institutes, design bureaus, and enterprises of Moscow provide more than half of the overall volume of work for designing and manufacturing the 'Energiya-Buran' system. Successful implementation of the measures for introducing scientific and technical achievements from the space area will make it possible to raise the technical level of our industry and the ability of our equipment and goods to compete.

The city's cooperation with the USSR Ministry of General Machinebuilding has assumed concrete form. The work of the enterprises and organizations of this branch is conducted within the framework of a joint decision of the ispolkom of the Moscow soviet and the ministry board and is directed primarily toward solving the priority problems of the development of the branches of the Moscow city economy during the period of 1989-1995.

In conclusion the speaker said that efficient, organized work for conversion should help motivate others, mainly developed capitalist countries to conduct a reciprocal reduction of military expenditures so that we shall have good prospects for further reduction of these expenditures while maintaining sufficient defense capability and thus be able to invest more means in solving the most important problems of the country's social and economic development and improving the well-being of the Soviet people.

A.I. Zemskov, first secretary of the Voroshilovsky CPSU Raykom [rayon committee]; O.N. Shishkin, minister of general machinebuilding; I.M. Golovkov, deputy chairman of the Mosgorispolkom; A.G. Bratukhin, first deputy minister of the aviation industry; V.V. Kulichev, chairman of the labor collective council of the Moscow radio plant; G.V. Novozhilov, general designer of the

Special Design Bureau imeni S.V. Ilyushin; V.I. Shimko, USSR minister of the radio industry; S.F. Koroba, deputy minister of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] textile industry; V.A. Isachenko, director of the scientific research institute of machinebuilding technology; A.M. Moskvichev, chief of the main public health administration of the Mosgorispolkom; Yu.M. Luzhkov, chairman of the Moscow agroindustrial committee; N.V. Mikhaylov, general director of the Vympel Central Scientific Production Association; and B.A. Rylkin, secretary of the party committee of the Znamya Truda machinebuilding plant, noted in their speeches that the defense complex is playing an essential role in the economy and is significantly influencing Moscow's social image.

The speakers said that it is necessary to create all the conditions for increasing the development and output of consumer goods and equipment for the processing industry, light industry, and public health. At the same time it is necessary to preserve the intellectual potential of the defense branches and the high rates of development of the social sphere, to arrange close cooperation with the capital's economy, and to increase the contribution of the enterprises to the development of its infrastructure. Since the conversion coincides with the establishment of new political and economic relations, it is important to provide for planning of this process and control at the state and regional-branch levels.

The results of the conference were summed up by L.N. Zaykov. He said that the decision about conversion has set for defense branches of industry the task of changing capacities over from producing arms and military equipment to manufacturing products for civilian purposes and consumer goods.

The production of national economic products for the defense complex is not a new problem. Practically from the moment of the organization of the domestic defense industry many enterprises have been creating products for purely peaceful purposes along with weaponry and military equipment. The increase in its output, especially in recent years, has taken place at considerably more rapid rates than that of military products.

Thus, under the 12th 5-Year Plan the production of civilian products at defense enterprises will increase by 41 percent and reach several tens of millions of rubles. In 1988 more than 40 percent of the overall volume of production from the defense complex was civilian products and consumer goods, and in 1989 it is expected to be 43 percent, and by the end of the 5-year plan this proportion will be about 50 percent.

Under the current 5-year plan Moscow enterprises of the defense branches have overfulfilled assignments in terms of these indicators. In 1990 the production of products for the population will increase by an average of 35 percent as compared to this year. This will make it possible to produce 2 rubles' worth of goods here for every 1 ruble of the wage fund.

In 1988 a responsible new task was assigned to the defense complex—to provide for technical retooling of light and the food industry, the processing branches of the agroindustrial complex, trade and public catering. Here, too, a good deal is being done by Moscow enterprises, scientific research institutes, and design bureaus. But what with the shortage of goods and services and the high growth rates of monetary incomes of the population this contribution from the defense branches to the city budget is still inadequate.

Conversion is a changeover from an economy of arms to an economy of reduction of arms production and reduction of expenditures on defense needs. Its implementation will have a favorable effect not only on the world political climate, but also on the economic condition of our state.

For example, we know of imbalance and distortions that exist in our economy in certain branches of production and the development of individual branches of the national economy. It is necessary to use conversion to eliminate these economic disproportions or make them less critical.

Equalizing the scientific and technical level of defense and nondefense branches of industry is one of the most important tasks that must be carried out within the framework of conversion, particularly in the Moscow region. Everything advanced that the defense branches have at their disposal and that can be used in other branches of the national economy should be transferred there.

In the future this will produce an undoubted advantage also to the defense branches which, for example, at the present time are being forced to conduct research in all areas of metal processing and material science. It would be possible to continue the examples of the lack of development of division of labor between them. The main thing lies not in these examples, but in overcoming the historical disproportions in the development of various branches of the defense complex.

At the same time practical implementation of conversion, in turn, will require overcoming the most varied kinds of barriers. First of all it will be necessary to overcome the psychological barrier and carry out a "conversion" in the way of thinking of the leaders and also all the other workers in the defense industry enterprises.

This is not simple. Over the decades nobody has ever questioned the priority of military products. The most skilled personnel have participated in their production and the best resources have been invested here. The changeover of military production to a peacetime basis will become a reality when they recognize the fact that the state has no other path and that conversion will be a real help in satisfying the urgent needs of the people.

Questions in the area the economies of defense complex enterprises themselves are also crucial. The released intellectual potential of scientific research institutes and design bureaus of defense branches must also be used for solving the most crucial national economic problems.

For successful implementation of such a complex and multifaceted process as conversion, it is necessary to have a well-thought-out and coordinated program. Permanent organs of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Ministry of Defense, defense branches of industry, and other involved ministries and departments have been enlisted in its development.

Essentially only the first steps have been taken on the path to conversion. But as early as 1990 it will directly affect the city's enterprises and labor collectives.

The party gorkom puts the question this way: At each enterprise, regardless of what it produces, whether it be combat aircraft or radar stations, there must be a specialized production of goods. Its capacity should provide for their output in an amount of no less than 1 ruble for each ruble of the wage fund of the entire collective of the enterprise, taking into account the fact that the defense branches will produce mainly household equipment, and more.

We have already said at the bureau of the Moscow city committee of the CPSU that the leaders of enterprises and organizations in conjunction with the corresponding ministries when developing plans for conversion measures for 1990 and the 13th 5-Year Plan it will be necessary to develop a Progress-95 program for each plant, scientific research institute, and design bureau. In this work one must rely on maximally increasing the production and development of consumer goods and the rendering of consumer services. The Moscow city planning commission in conjunction with the ministries must take conversion into account and revise the plans of the enterprises for producing consumer goods and services.

Serious attention will be devoted to increasing the production of equipment for light and the food industry, the processing branches of the agroindustrial complex, trade, and public catering. Moscow enterprises are already producing 320 kinds of this equipment and more than 90 are in the stage of development.

It is no secret that the level of operation of the defense complex has always depended strongly on the effectiveness of the activity of the central organs. The reform has sharply expanded the rights of the enterprises and associations that are protected by the law on the state enterprise and economic levers are beginning to work. But the methods of the higher economic organs have not changed yet. In many of our ministries for many years instead of doing their work the workers have been spending their time in their offices talking about the future.

Two years ago we agreed that each ministry would assign one deputy minister who would be responsible for the state of affairs in Moscow. Time is passing but, as the study showed, the ministries have not yet informed the enterprises of the general line for conducting the conversion. Perhaps the time has come for both their colleagues and the party committees to start asking them questions.

At the same time labor collectives play a very large role in solving both social and production problems. Even this year has shown the difficulty with which the reorientation of defense enterprises is proceeding. But speaking about the prospects of conversion as a whole, one should note that this is not a utopian task. There is no doubt that in order to carry it out it will be necessary to solve difficult problems of a technical-economic and social nature which were mentioned above. But the difficulties related to this will be temporary and will in no way compare to the positive effect that will be produced by the narrowing of the arms race, the improvement of the international situation, and the increased confidence in the world.

The potential accumulated in the defense complex through the labor of several generations of Soviet people should be an important means for the stable socioeconomic development of our country.

The conversion of the defense industry is purely a party matter and it is party committees that are called upon to head up this work. But recently we have been observing a clear departure of party organizations from direct participation in solving economic problems—they say that when functions are divided up this is not the party's concern. A dangerous delusion. The state of affairs in the economy determines the sociopolitical situation and this cannot but concern communists.

It is true that we have removed the secret classification from our enterprises and that there are no more nameless "postal boxes." But nobody has abolished the extremely strict conditions in the matter of preserving the holy of holies—military and state secrecy. The leaders of the enterprises and subdivisions are personally responsible for this.

The rayon party committees are also clearly paying less attention to the work of enterprises of the defense complex. We are not speaking about replacing economic leaders. We are speaking about increasing party responsibility for the state of affairs in these collectives.

A special role in carrying out the conversion is to be played by party committees of the ministries and other central departments. But here, too, all the efforts of the party aktiv are going for reorganizing the management apparatus. This is a necessary thing, of course, and people's destinies depend on it. But it should not stand in the way of other, equally important problems. It is necessary to place stricter demands on ministry boards who have been entrusted with the work in the central apparatus.

The defense division of the gorkom should also be working more actively. It frequently gets bogged down in purely economic problems and forgets about problems of the moral and psychological climate and the ideological situation in the collectives.

The party should learn from life. We know the Leninist principle to the effect that socialism is the creativity of the masses and not a bureaucratic exercise. We must develop conceptual approaches. But they can be realized only through organizational, ideological, and political work among the masses, through living practice. The party function is to advance the concept, to fight for socialist values, and after that everything depends on the creativity of the masses and our work with them.

We are experiencing a time that is fateful for the country. But regardless of what happens we must maintain the main direction of our movement forward. We need measures for reducing the socioeconomic tension. But we also need activity in the ideological sphere.

We are in a process of designing new forms of life—political and economic. Adopting measures for improving the market, carrying out the second stage of the political reform, preparing for and conducting the 27th CPSU Congress—all this will enable us in approximately a year to reduce the tension and give stability to our movement forward along the path of democratization and renewal of the economy. We shall firmly continue the development of socialism using the approaches suggested by perestroyka.

Participating in the work of the conference were N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; O.S. Belyakov, chief of the Defense Department of the CPSU Central Committee; and Yu.A. Prokofyev, N.M. Andreyanov, and V.I. Kuznetsov, secretaries of the Moscow city committee.

Freight Congestion Clogs Rail System

Situation 'Intolerable'

904H0028A Moscow GUDOK in Russian
20 Oct 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the MPS Collegium"]

[Text] Yesterday, the MPS [Ministry of Railways] collegium considered at its meeting the issue of the extremely intolerable situation with the outshipment of imported freight from sea ports and from foreign railroads through border crossings. The MPS, the government, and the USSR Supreme Soviet are receiving many complaints, requests, and demands to normalize the situation from Soviet and foreign organizations. More than 400,000 tons of grain, about 100,000 tons of sugar, 40,000 tons of potatoes, and large quantities of other foodstuffs and consumer goods are awaiting shipment despite the situation having begun to improve perceptibly in recent days.

At the collegium meeting, reports by the chiefs of railroads on the measures taken were heard, the responsibility for the unsatisfactory operation was apportioned, and specific organizational and technological decisions were taken with a view to improving the situation immediately. Ranking functionaries of the USSR Council of Ministers, the Committee of People's Control, and the central committee of the trade union of the branch took part in the meeting.

'Rational' Economic Measures Needed

904H0028B Moscow GUDOK in Russian
21 Oct 89 p 1

[Article based on reports by local GUDOK correspondents: "Import Fever"]

[Text] Collectives of enterprises are assailed by thousands rather than dozens of telegrams from the highest government and party organs: "The plant is about to be stopped," "We are not able to ship out finished products," "We are paying enormous fines depriving the people of bonuses for failing to fulfill loading plans...."

Meanwhile, the cars are still in short supply as they have been before. Measures which do not make the transportation sector any more popular are used increasingly often: Bans on loading particular types of freight in favor of priority, vital freight—otherwise, the winter may turn into a disaster.

Catching up and making good the losses is the most difficult part. However, this is exactly the situation which the railroad employees are facing. Strikes have already been mentioned, and there is no need to repeat how much fuel was not transported due to this for additions to the stocks at power stations, how much imported freight accumulated at transloading border stations and in the ports. By now, trade unions have undertaken measures in this area, too. However, the hope that they will be the ones to succeed in changing something is extremely conditional. One thinks that the MPS [Ministry of Railways] would have gotten by with its own resources which are not inconsiderable had everything been that simple. Indeed, the strikes have done much damage. However, are they the only reason? Will there be more cars if, despite the current shortage, we turn them into warehouses on wheels? This is exactly what not only numerous clients but also the organs regulating mutual economic relations between industries do not wish or have a desire to realize. Everything has to have its price, including a car. Pardon me, but if it is unacceptably low no amount of appeals and incantations will make us treat these assets in a businesslike manner. No matter what zeal all kinds of controlling organizations display, no matter what fines they impose on the managers things do not change. Nonetheless, it is strongly recommended that the commanders of railroads urgently refer materials concerning negligent clients to the procuracy. In the words of Deputy Minister V. Butko, the decline began after the severe winter of 1986. Comparing growth rates will suffice. At the time, overall losses due to unloading amounted to 15,500 cars; by now, they have jumped to 29,500. Meanwhile, neither the frost nor the blizzards are happening yet. What is happening? In this matter, railroad specialists are unanimous: Party organs have stopped handling economic matters while the introduction of economic arrangements which would replace the command method of management has been dangerously delayed. In addition, the soviet organs have still not acquired sufficient prestige and influence. For Instance, the Moscow Junction has long become a holding area of merchandise for the capital city. Thousands of containers have accumulated here. Thousands of them! However, perceptible results of the measures taken so far by the city authorities are not apparent. The situation is in danger of deteriorating still further. The boarder-crossing tie-up in Brest is about to fizzle out, and then a new stream of cars will rush here. However, organizing work on three shifts at the warehouses of clients and getting the transportation conveyer moving in Moscow turns out to be beyond the resources of local authorities.

Notorious collective egoism begins to be manifested in the most unexpected forms. The clients of the Kuybyshev Division are holding almost one-half of all the cars of the railroad which are stuck being unloaded. Nonetheless, the council of the labor collective at the Kuybushev Motor Vehicle Transportation Enterprise resolved not to work on Saturdays and Sundays. In and of itself, it is a commendable decision, one made out of concern for the people. But why should it be at the expense of others? After all, nobody but them will deliver to the counters the very goods they themselves cannot buy. There is an infinite number of such cases on all railroads. However, at the last meeting of the collegium, at which a critical situation with regard to the outshipment of imported freight was discussed, chiefs of railroads referred to outside causes rather than grasped the root causes of disorders. At present, emergency measures are being urgently undertaken. It is no joke when 2 million tons of goods sit idle in the ports, and 10,000 foreign cars sit idle at border stations. On top of that, there are 216 abandoned trains for the USSR in adjacent countries. This is sugar, grain, potatoes, consumer goods—in a word, you cannot enumerate it all.

However, this is just a beginning. It is expected that several times more goods than at present will be imported to our country before the end of the year with a view to stabilizing market demand.

Emergency measures have always exhausted their potential quickly. This is why a program of rational economic and organizational measures is necessary. Only in this case may we hope to overcome the critical condition of transportation. After all, along with the imports on which all efforts center at present, we have to serve the enterprises of the country and manage to deliver everything necessary for the winter. May we not lose sight of it while "the import fever" lasts.

Ministers Note Improvements

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[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1855 GMT on 4 November broadcasts the 25-minute "Topical Interview" program, with Commentator Lev Voznesenskiy interviewing Nikolay Semenovich Konarev, USSR minister of railways, and Yuriy Mikhaylovich Volmer, USSR minister of the maritime fleet, at the offices of the USSR Ministry of Railways.

Following a brief recording of the 20 October USSR Council of Ministers session at which severe criticism was directed at the two ministers over the accumulation of goods at stations and ports, and instructions were given that the situation be rectified by 1 November, Voznesenskiy asks the two ministers to report on their progress.

Konarev says: "To put it briefly, mission accomplished. A great deal of constructive work has been done over the past 10 days. Before this, of course, we explained the situation and the government's instructions to people; they understood us correctly, joined forces—railway men and port workers, I mean—and started working at the necessary speed and rate. By 1 November, the cargo residue at both ports and border crossings had been reduced considerably, and came within the technical norms, or even a little below them. On the 20th, there were 2,053,000 tonnes of imported cargo; on the 1st, there wer 1,572,000. The residue thus had been cut by 400,000 tonnes. At border crossings, on the railroads, with bordering countries, there were 200 trains; today there are no trains held up. Freight is coming in at a fast rate and in large volumes, but handling is proceeding normally and no hold-ups are permitted now."

Commenting on the performance of the ports, Volmer focusses on the cargoes people are most worried about, namely "food, industrial goods, grain, and container cargo. Over this period, we have managed to cut the backlog of these cargoes by nearly 100,000 tonnes, and practically completely to solve problems such as the transport of sugar, rice, and refrigerated cargo. Container freight also has been dispatched above plan, above target. In other words, our mission has been accomplished, with the help of workers on the railways, at ports, and allied workers. We have fulfilled the promises pledged at the 20 October council of ministers."

Konarev adds that the ministries have reported the fulfilment of their task to the government.

Voznesenskiy praises such alacrity, but comments that consumers will be even more interested in whether these goods will reach shop counters. Konarev affirms that over the past 10 days more transportation facilities have been made available, particularly in Moscow and Leningrad. "However, today we note with alarm that the situation has not been put to rights. Evidently, no account was taken of the fact that things would heat up over and above the situation of the 20th, for the quantity of freight, the deliveries, increased. Therefore, even though 15-20 percent more handling was under way, the freight residue did not diminish in the same high proportions. Today, in both Moscow and Leningrad, and in other industrial centers, there is a lot to do." Konarev adds that he is surprised at the "unjustified optimism" expressed on the subject in the press; people are awaiting produce to put on the holiday table. Volmer comments that given the government's effort in allocating the sum of R10 billion for purchases of goods in short supply, it is astounding that these goods cannot be placed on the tables of Soviet citizens. Konarev describes this negative process as deliberate resistance, which local bodies must sort out; those responsible must be brought to book. Local bodies must synchronize freight-handling operations to insure that the necessary transportation is provided, in accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers' decision, which specially points out the need to speed up handling in time for and during the 7-8 November holiday.

Following a series of video interviews at the Oktyabrskaya container yards, where unnamed officials complain that railway container transportation is not being provided, Volmer points out that there is a great shortage of containers for shipping to foreign ports, he addresses a plea to consumers to return the empty containers quickly. Konarev says that there is a total of 165,000 containers loaded with goods at container yards and stations throughout the country, whereas the norm is 69,000. The situation is even worse where railcars are concerend. Radical restructuring of the entire freight transportation mechanism is what is needed, with round-the-clock handling operations the norm. It should be made financially disadvantageous for an enterprise to allow goods to hang around on sidings and in container yards.

A video report from the Lvov base of the all-union raznoeksport association follows. Between 15 and 20 percent of all imported footwear, clothing, and fancy goods comes through here, and the warehouses are literally crammed full. an official asserts that his base, at least, has a handling period of 5 days, though the huge increase in the amount of imported goods is causing problems, since onward means of transport have not been provided. He also complains about the mass of paperwork, which takes up far too much time. Konarev in the ministry comments that up to double the amount of imported goods will be arriving in the USSR in November-December as in October, and that interdepartmental meetings have been held to organize handling. Both Volmer and Konarev express their thanks to the media for raising the whole issue of the transportation of imported goods, and assert that the coverage given has helped to improve the situation, even though Konarev and Volmer have themselves come in for a lot of criticism.

Strike Causing Coal Supply Problems in Far North

PM0411191189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the "Situation in the Mines" rubric: "Anxious days in Vorkuta"]

[Text] Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR]—The strike in the polar city of Vorkuta continues. Yesterday only 2 of the 13 local mines were working normally, the rest were on partial or complete strike. The miners of the polar region are falling farther and farther behind the plan schedules for mining and dispatching coal to consumers. In the first 2 days of November alone the "Vorkutaugol" Association as a whole brought around 43,000 tonnes of coal to the surface, which is almost 100,000 tonnes below target. During those 2 days 50,000 tonnes was not dispatched to consumers.

The Vorkuta railroad stations and spur tracks to the mines are choked with empty freightcars. As V. Semushin, deputy chief of the Northern Railroad Vorkuta Section's Traffic Department, reported, around 500 coal cars were left unloaded yesterday. Today the dispatch of coal is faring even worse. According to current figures, only 150 carloads of coal will be dispatched from the polar city. The collective of the section is suffering enormous losses because of the miners' strike. In October alone losses amounted to around R300,000, and since the start of the year top R2 million. Complaints and requests for expedited coal deliveries are coming in from various regions of the country.

Coal consumers in the Komi ASSR are also anxious, especially in the capital and the agricultural rayons in the south of the republic. Usually the "Komitopprom" Association's Syktyvkar Office depot always had 16,000-18,000 tonnes of coal in reserve at the beginning of winter. Coal deliveries by road to hamlets and villages used to be continuous. Now they only have 1,500 tonnes of coal left there and the delivery service is on the verge of stopping. This situation has been caused by the striking "Vorgashorskaya" pit's failure to make any fuel deliveries. Winter has already virtually started in the republic, and the coal on which the boiler rooms of kindergartens, schools, hospitals, and homes... depend for their normal running is becoming scarce.

As has already been reported, the Inta city workers' (strike) committee and the council of chairmen of trade union committees at the "Intaugol" Association took the decision to start a strike at all Inta mines on 3 November. But the final say rests with the miners' labor collectives. Today all the association's mines are continuing normal working. Individual voting by miners to determine the final decision on the strike is taking place during shifts. At the same time funds are being collected in Inta to assist the striking miners in Vorkuta.

The miners of the Pechorskiy coalfield are continuing to insist that a government commission urgently come to Vorkuta and Inta.

Agricultural

Progress for Russian Peasant Farm Association

PM0711161989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Nov 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 2

[V. Konovalov report: "The Farmer Is Not Alone in the Field. Preparations Are Under Way for the Constituent Congress of the Association of Peasant Farms and Cooperatives of Russia"]

[Text] Readers of our newspaper have recently asked the following question with increasing frequency: How are things going with the peasant association's creation and when will its congress take place? Let's recall what all this is about.

We have already reported (IZVESTIYA No. 214) that a conference was held in Moscow at the end of July on the question of convening the constituent congress of the Association of Peasant Farms and Cooperatives of Russia [AKKOR]. More than 200 representatives from the 39 territories of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and several union republics reached the common opinion that it is necessary to set up a social-cooperative organization which, acting on democratic voluntary principles, would be able to express and defend the interests of peasant farms and offer them the requisite juridical, financial, material-technical, and consultative aid. This idea met with vigorous support in the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Agrarian Questions and Food. An organizational committee and its chairman—USSR People's Deputy A. Yemelyanov—were elected to prepare for the constituent congress of the AKKOR.

Work is now under way to organize a Peasant Bank, a juridical service, material supply for farm livestock units, the future association's own press organs, and so on.

The peasant association is being set up primarily from below rather than from above. AKKOR regional subunits are being organized vigorously in the localities and delegates elected to the constituent congress (the representation norm is up to 10 delegates from each oblast-level organization). For instance, the "Tver" Peasant Association is already in operation in Staritskiy Rayon, Kalinin Oblast, along with the Association of Peasant (Farm) Livestock Units in Petrovskiy Rayon, Saratov Oblast, and the Regional Union of Peasants and Rural Cooperatives in Pytalovskiy Rayon, Pskov Oblast. Oblast organizations of peasant and farmer livestock units and cooperatives have also been set up in Rostov-na-Donu and Saratov. Peasants from krays and oblasts in Eastern Siberia and the Far East and many other regions of Russia are preparing to hold conferences. The outlines of the future association are becoming increasingly real and its geographical base is broadening. It is clear that it is those peasants who undertake to manage independently and take risks who today need contacts with like-minded people, along with collective and representative protection against arbitrary rule and bureaucracy. Moreover, the new peasant units are having difficulty in fitting into the centralized planning and distribution system. The absence of a market restricts their access to equipment, fertilizers, construction materials, fuel, and so on. The funds allocated to the area—whatever may be said about the equality of all forms of labor organization—are primarily supplied, as a rule, to collective farms and state farms.

Many local administrators see the new masters as a threat to their own existence. Farmers and leaseholders sometimes provoke envy and opposition in those people who have grown accustomed to day labor.

In short, operating separately, it is hard for them to gain a foothold and establish new relations of ownership on the land through their own practical work. Peasants await very keenly the promulgation of the new laws on ownership, land, and the lease, which should give the "green light" to the development of new forms of economic activity. But organizational forms of protection for peasant interests and cooperation between rural owners are also necessary here.

That is why many rural leaseholders, farmers, and cooperative workers pin their hopes on the creation of the AKKOR. The emergent association is finding more and more allies. The voluntary dues paid by organizations and citizens into the association's account also illustrate this. Thus, the future Peasant Bank is amassing its incorporation fund, to which the USSR Agroindustrial Bank has already contributed.

People who want to assist the noble aim of setting up the AKKOR can transfer funds to the AKKOR's account No 608902 at the USSR Agroindustrial Bank Board Moscow Financial Department No 299178 operating administration.

All the necessary information on the question of setting up the AKKOR can be obtained by telephoning 207-80-75 and 975-41-39 or writing to the following address: AKKOR Organizational Committee, Room 637, 1/11 Orlikov Street, B-139, Moscow 107139.

The AKKOR constituent congress is scheduled for the second half of December this year. The precise date and other details will be announced later.

Scientific

Delay of 'Mir' D Module Launch Explained

907Q0015A Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 26 Oct 89 p 4

[Report by A. Filippov at the mission control center: "The Insidious Microcircuit"]

[Text] The launch of space module D (additional equipment) to the Mir station, on which cosmonauts A. Viktorenko and A. Serebrov are working, was postponed until 28 November. Why?

As was noted by USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut V. Solovyev, the mission control director, specialists had doubts about the reliability of one of the microcircuits of the automatic docking system Kurs. Module D, which is completely ready for launch, will now wait until a suspect element is replaced at the manufacturing plant and the system is assembled and checked again. Afterwards, Kurs will again be installed on the module, and the assembly will once again undergo a full cycle of tests.

Oh, this electronics, some reader will sigh, who is utterly tormented by endless repairs of plain everyday radio equipment. How long have we stood in line, awaiting improvements in the "health" of our Tempos, Yauzes, Rubins, and Mayaks. It seems that space equipment can also be unreliable?

"This microcircuit, but, more specifically, this decoding matrix," explains V. Susleynikov, deputy chief designer of the Kurs apparatus, "is supplied by the Voronezh 'Electronics' production association." The same association that produces the domestic video tape recorders that are in short supply. I will note that of nine dockings in which Kurs worked with the Voronezh microcircuits, eight went through the automatic procedure. Only one was manual. In a word, the results were good. Why were we on the alert?

"Before a launch, all space equipment is carefully tested at the plant. With module D, which was already at Baykonur, everything was in order. Then we received the information: Plant tests were made on the Kurs system earmarked for installation on module T (technological), which is to be launched in the spring of next year, and on two Soyuz TM's that are being readied. The result: The number of failures is higher than the design basis. The cause lies in an unreliable microcircuit. We had to remove the docking system apparatus from module D and send it to the manufacturing plant for a replacement of the suspected element."

[Filippov] This means that the defective microcircuit was for module T and not for D? Perhaps the launch should not have been postponed?

[Susleynikov] The fact is that D has a microcircuit from the same suspected batch. No one will give a guarantee that destructive processes are not going on inside this element,which is in good condition today. And these processes can cause a Kurs failure in space. However, if a decoder matrix failed, we would switch to the standby system. But the standby apparatus also has an element from the suspected batch. And the failure of the standby means the loss of the module.

[Filippov] What exactly is this suspected batch that you have been mentioning?

[Susleynikov] About 10,000 microcircuits that were produced in 1985. A check of them shows that on the order of .02 of a percent of the total number do not meet specified requirements.

[Filippov] And is the replacement reliable?

[Susleynikov] Completely. The new matrices are manufactured according to a more advanced technology. Welding was used instead of soldering, which is fraught with the penetration of resin vapors under the lid. This is a quantum leap in quality.

[Filippov] Well, the specialists are trying to anticipate everything and to ensure themselves against surprises. But will not the postponement of the launch of module D seriously reduce the program of work on the Mir station? Because the crew of the fifth main expedition has already started preparation to receive the additional equipment module. Will the space assignment period for A. Viktorenko and A. Serebrov be changed?

"The decision that was reached at the council of chief designers is correct," believes V. Blagov, deputy mission control director,. "We are losing about 40 days; however, we are substantially reducing the risk of losing an orbital module. At the same time, the manufacturing plant will carry out an exchange of the suspected element of the docking apparatus that was earmarked for module T and the Soyuz TM spacecraft.

"The flight program has not been changed fundamentally. It was revised on the condition that the former date for the landing of the Vityazes remains. They will return to earth, as was planned, on 19 February. The launch of the sixth main expedition is set for 11 February. Its members are A. Viktorenko and A. Serebrov. After a week of joint flight, they will transfer into the orbital complex. But up until that moment, the work in orbit, whose volume is not decreased, will take place as follows: After launch, module D will dock with the orbital complex on 4 December. On the next day, with the help of the mechanical positioner, it will be moved into the lateral docking port. On 7 December, Soyuz TM-8 will redock, after clearing the port on the side of the Kvant module for the cargo ship Progress M-2, which will be launched on 15 December, and within 2 days, on 17 December, it will moor at Mir. Then the cosmonauts will be occupied with the installation on board of the new Salyut computer, delivered to orbit by module D. It is planned that after its testing and inclusion in the orbital complex network, the cosmonauts will take five space walks. At the freed window, the crew will be engaged in experiments on investigating the natural resources of the earth."

[Filippov] When will tests be conducted on the space "bicycle"—the device for moving in space?

[Blagov] During one of the space walks, approximately before the very end of the fifth main expedition, 30 January and 3 February.

Military

Air Defense Central Command Duties Described

PM0811112389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 89 First Edition p1

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel O. Falichev, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "No Days Off Here; Reportage From Air Defense Forces Central Command Point"]

[Text] The red calico of standards and banners, the solemn march of columns, festive gatherings of the people.... These have become the customary signs of the celebration. The celebration with which we mark the 72d anniversary of Soviet power. This date compels us to think about a great deal. About our state's difficult history, about its past and its present.... But it would evidently be supremely moral if, when sitting down to the festive meal, we do not forget those who are at their post, at sea, or on combat duty at this hour.

Heightened attention to troops' combat readiness on such days is the reality. There is a special atmosphere at combat posts and at the radar stations of the Air Defense Forces. All information collected on the situation in the air flows into this one place: The Central Command Point. It is only here, at the Central Command Point, that you can feel the pulse of life of our air borders stretching for many thousands of kilometers and establish the situation in any region at any point in time.

I entered the hall of the Central Command Point. I was struck by the enormous screen—like in a movie theater—with the geographical outlines of our country plotted on it. Blue computer screens were flickering on tables, and the inscriptions on the brightly colored telephones read: "Commander in Chief," "Minister of Defense," and so forth.

"Of course, we pay particular attention to those on combat duty on holidays," Major General of Aviation V. Moskalev, chief of the Air Defense Forces Central Command Point, said. "At the same time, it is the most ordinary shift, so to speak, to which this honor has fallen on the schedule...."

This time the honor had fallen to Operations Duty Officer of the Air Defense Forces Central Command Point Colonel B. Korolev, Colonel N. Poplavskiy, Colonel P. Nezhivoy, Colonel K. Sharafanovich, and Lieutenant Colonel I. Yershov.... They are experienced specialists and almost every one of them has experience in service in "hot spots."

What kind of things have to be done on the duty shift at the Central Command Point? Information on the air situation coming in from radio engineering forces has to be constantly analyzed and there also must be no break in intelligence work so as to be able to promptly detect air attack systems.... Reading these lines, some readers will probably think: Do we really need this constant combat duty when there are all the signs of a lessening of international tension?

As far as our state's peace initiatives and the policy of detente are concerned, the military is in favor of this. There is only one problem: Unfortunately, incidents where the Soviet state border is violated are not becoming fewer.

"Last year there were more than 10 violations of the state border," Colonel V. Dakhno, Central Command Point officer, said. "This year there have been the same number of incidents in 10 months."

This needs to be clarified. These violations are local in nature, if we can put it like that. They are mainly committed by powered light aircraft, helicopters, and gliders.... But this does not make it any easier, as they say. No one has absolved Air Defense Forces personnel of their responsibility.

On 22 April, for example, a two-seater trainer aircraft strayed into our territory from a neighboring country. On 29 March a light single-engined U.S. Cessna aircraft violated our border in the region of Ratmanov Island. These examples could be continued with more recent incidents. But you obviously get the picture: The situation on the border is not becoming simpler. Very often, we are sure, Air Defense Forces personnel have to take action against sports planes and light aircraft. It therefore seems that greater clarity is needed in directive documents and greater accuracy in the actions of combat teams: Whether to peacefully let go a farmer's helicopter from a neighboring friendly country, say, that has strayed into our territory or to force it to land.

We can now see a tendency toward the humanization of international relations. Such minor incidents like these, for example, are sorted out quite quickly through the Foreign Ministry. But where is the guarantee that another "guest" will not fly into our territory one day from somewhere under the guise of a farmer? There is no guarantee. Then there is no longer any question about the sovereignty of the state, which implies the inviolability of its borders.

"There is a problem here," Lieutenant General Ye. Timokhin, first deputy chief of the Air Defense Forces Main Staff, agreed. "We have made some proposals in this connection."

It seems that the most difficult task today is to distinguish who is flying toward our border. This is because, on the radar screen, there is sometimes no real difference between a passenger aircraft and a reconnaissance aircraft. As far as reconnaissance aircraft are concerned, all is not so simple.

Here is data for one 24-hour period that has been correlated by the Air Defense Forces Central Command Point:

"... Radio equipment forces detected and registered 539 foreign aircraft, including 15 reconnaissance aircraft and 2 AWACS long-range radar detection aircraft. Locations: The Barents Sea—Nimrod and Orion reconnaissance aircraft; The Baltic Sea—2 Atlantic and RC-135 aircraft; around Kamchatka—2 Orion aircraft....

"Duty crews made 16 aircraft flights and 5 helicopter flights to prevent the violation of the USSR state border...."

This is where military work is really intense. Whatever we say, a fact is a fact: Our country is being probed from all sides, penetrated by the antennas of radar, radio equipment, optical, and other systems. Intelligence information is constantly being gathered. For example, I was told about the pedantic efficiency with which one of the modern SR-71 strategic reconnaissance aircraft, with a speed of up to 3,000 kilometers per hour, circles our borders. In order to prevent a possible violation of our border by this aircraft, several of our fighter aircraft have to be sent up at the same time and extra radar stations brought into operation. Because, if the need arose, it would be difficult to catch up with it. But a 1-hour flight by a fighter aircraft and additional use of radar facilities costs the state a pretty penny, as they say.

... In the established tradition, Colonel General of Aviation I. Maltsev, chief of the Air Defense Forces Main Staff, and political workers come to the Central Command Point on a special mission on holidays. They come to congratulate those left at their posts.

Submarine Gets Tangled in Norwegian Trawl Net

Details Given

PM0711154789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by Captain 3d rank P. Ishchenko, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "It Happened in the Barents Sea"]

[Text] On 2 November a diesel-powered submarine from the Northern Fleet rehearsing training exercises under water in the Barents Sea, 200 km from native shores, became entangled in the trawl net of the Norwegian trawler "Senior" at 1354 hours Moscow time. The submarine commander gave immediate orders to surface. Having established communication with the trawler on an international radio frequency, he said that the submarine crew would do everything possible to save the trawl net. For 4 hours, in a force 4-5 storm, the submarine crew worked on the wave-lashed upper deck and eventually released the trawl net. The Norwegian fishermen expressed their gratitude for the fact that the Soviet seamen had acted with the greatest correctness and highly appraised their actions.

When the submarine returned to base, it was visited by our correspondent.

Even by just looking closely at the outside of the submarine, you could see that it was in rather a state: One post of the safety rail had been torn away and the panels of the lightweight hull revealed shallow, corroded "scars" from the cables of the trawl net.

"We could have hacked through the cables and freed ourselves from the net immediately, thereby removing the risk of getting it caught on the propellors," Captain 2d Rank A. Feoktistov said. "But we resolved to help the Norwegian fishermen. Lieutenant Captain Ye. Solovyev and Captain 3d Rank A. Bakhcheyev worked bravely and selflessly in storm conditions."

How had the submarine become entangled in the trawl net? This question will be answered by a commission headed by Rear Admiral V. Poroshin, deputy commander of the Northern Fleet, which has already begun work. At present, however, all we can say is that there were more than 40 fishing vessels in this region of the sea.

"The preliminary assessment of the actions taken by the submarine crew and commander in this difficult situation is one of competence," Rear Admiral V. Poroshin said. "Unfortunately, there are still cases of submarines becoming entangled in nets, foreign submarines included. When the investigation has been completed, we will take every possible measure to reduce the likelihood of such incidents."

Chernavin Comments

PM0711153389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 8

[N. Burbyga report under the rubric "Rumors and Facts": "All Quiet on the Seas?"]

[Text] According to REUTER, a Soviet submarine got caught in fishing nets in the Barents Sea on Wednesday, the second such incident in the last 3 months. The submarine surfaced. One of the sailors slipped while trying to unhook the nets and fell into the icy water. Fortunately, he was pulled out immediately. We contacted Admiral of the Fleet V. Chernavin, commander in chief of the USSR Navy, and asked him to comment on this event.

[Chernavin] This did actually happen, but it cannot be described as an incident. The point is that fishing nets do not show up on sonar and therefore no one is proof against this happening.

[Burbyga] One more question. Comrade Admiral of the Fleet, recently a report flashed through the press stating that disturbances had allegedly broken out on the missile cruiser "Kirov" on a long voyage, that its crew refused to obey the Navy Staff and had put forward demands of a political nature. Is this true? [Burbyga ends]

"Nothing of the sort," was the comment of the commander in chief. "Judge for yourself, the cruiser 'Kirov' has been at its berth in Severomorsk since August. And I will add: In plain view of the whole city. I can assure you that if disturbances had really broken out on the 'Kirov,' they would not have gone unnoticed 'from the shore.' In general, I advise you to get in touch with Severomorsk and talk to the cruiser's crew."

Captain 2d Rank A. Pugachev, the cruiser's deputy political officer, was on the line: "'Sensational' rumors of this kind can only be described as incitement. We ourselves are at a loss to analyze why they have arisen. We can find no reason for them aboard, among our people. You want to know what we are doing now? Basic training. We are getting ready for the festivities and the beginning of the new training year. But I must tell you, we are worried: What will our near and dear ones think if this kind of 'information' reaches them."

Petty Officer 1st Class V. Vaytsekauskas was on the line: "My service is coming to an end. I am going home in 2 days' time. I, unlike my comrades who will remain behind, will be able personally to rebut these fabrications in civilian life."

Rumors Regarding 'Kirov' Mutiny Addressed

PM0711142189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Nov 89 p 4

[Special correspondent I. Chernyak report under the rubric "Check": "In the Home Berth"]

[Excerpts] Red Banner Northern Fleet—I am sorry to say that I flew to Severomorsk with the thought that probably something really had happened—there is no smoke without fire. Maybe there had been an argument at a meeting, a conflict among officers, or perhaps the boatswain had been poisoned by Icelandic herring. Nothing of the kind! Since 28 August the ship has been lying peacefully in its berth, and not a single even slightly extraordinary occurrence has been recorded during this time. (Except that Admiral Trost, U.S. chief of naval operations, recently paid a visit—the rumors of "turmoil" evidently had not then had time to reach the States.) So all the talk of a strike on the cruiser is groundless.

Meanwhile, a barrage of telephone calls and telegrams has bombarded the ship from worried mothers, veterans, those who recently served on the "Kirov," and from the chiefs in the capital: What happened? Nothing at all, the seamen replied, service is proceeding normally.

"I will say at once that we believe that no strike is a means of resolving problems," Captain 1st Rank V. Zagubisalo told me. "Today the miners have ceased work—they are demanding attention to themselves. Well, do metallurgists or people employed in agriculture have a better life? It is not merely because someone does not want this that questions are not resolved, you know. The political reform has taken place on an all-union level, but much still remains as it was at local level. What is needed is the second stage of the reform and the adoption of a number of laws, which is what the Supreme Soviet is engaged on today." [Passage omitted]

We spent a long time chatting with the "Kirov's" officers. I did not notice any bitterness or discontent. Yes, there was resentment against certain cooperative members (or, rather, against speculators in cooperatives) who inflate prices. There were rebukes addressed to the Supreme Soviet for the "hasty execution of the decision to discharge students." Much argument was also aroused by the question of reducing the period of service in the fleet to 2 years. The hardware here is very complex, and you need more than just 1 month to understand it.

"We realize that there are problems throughout the country today, and they are the same in the fleet as throughout society," the "Kirov's" officers said. "And it is clear that things will be no better tomorrow or the day after. But why have they begun venting their fury on us? For we have recently heard so much.... You go on official business, and people say behind your back: 'A parasite living off the state.' You dare not wear your uniform in Moscow. We ask for nothing—just for a human attitude toward us." [Passage omitted]

'Blasphemy' of Armed Forces Detractors Attacked

PM0711165589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Nov 89 First Edition p1

[Captain 1st Rank V. Lukashevich article: "The October Revolution. The Motherland. Socialism"]

[Text] The country awakens with faith—and every morning it carefully reads the latest newspaper reports and listens closely to radio news bulletins. Parliament and the government are hard at work. Their concern and their search for immediate, sometimes even emergency solutions are conveyed to every one of us.

Having stirred up the swamp of stagnation, surely the party warned us in April 1985 that, together with the improvement and renewal of society, the fresh wind of restructuring would also bring to the surface negative phenomena and problems that had lain unsolved for decades and become deeply entrenched, like malignant abscesses?

Complex processes are under way in the country. Discussions are in progress. Discussions on urgent measures to advance the economic reform, make our financial situation healthier, meet the plan for next year, and implement laws connected with forming a rule-of-law state. The second stage of political transformations has begun.

The banners of restructuring bear the freshly painted words: "All power to the soviets!" and "Everything for the individual and in the name of the individual." But these are not the only slogans you will encounter today in the hands of people taking part in pickets and rallies. Today, together with the concept of restructuring as a policy designed to renew socialism, achieve democracy and glasnost, ennoble the individual, and humanize society, ideas are also being thrown in which invite us to go back almost 70 years. As if these 70 years had never existed, as if whole generations had never lived, as if nothing had happened to our society. But, even by the strictest criteria, a very great deal has been achieved. An enormous breakthrough has been made to reach the achievements of modern human civilization, despite all the tragic, dramatic events and the deformations which have hampered and slowed the realization of socialist ideals.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke about this with concern at his recent meeting with PRAVDA correspondents. It is simply impossible not to agree with his statement that "our historical path is a unique achievement of the modern age."

But there are forces within the country which are trying to negate this path or, if not to negate it completely, then to divide it—into the path of the people and the path of the party. Is that not the reason, for example, why some Latvian People's Front leaders in Latvia have launched a campaign on the eve of the October Revolution anniversary to boycott this celebration? The Riga city party committee [gorkom] has been forced to appeal to Communists: "In recent days material has appeared in some Latvian radio and television broadcasts and in some Latvian newspapers which is disparaging of the role played by our revolution and in fact calls for a boycott of the 72d anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The stand taken by Communists on the People's Front Duma Board, which in fact began this campaign, is also regrettable."

It is not surprising that many Soviet citizens have turned to the Latvian Communist Party leadership and central publications, including the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office, to ask: "Surely 'informal associations' do not now institute and abolish state holidays? Has anyone asked about this?"

The scornful attitude toward Army and Navy personnel in some regions of the country is also causing bewilderment. The label of "occupationists," which some are trying to pin on our Army in the Baltic republics, Georgia, and some other regions, is nothing short of blasphemy. Surely the October Revolution was preserved for us by the heroism and sacrifice of millions of Soviet servicemen? Surely it is they, our sons and grandsons, who, despite all difficulties and privations, guarantee our restructuring, our renewal, glasnost, and democracy today?

"The people are counting on you!" These laconic words spoken by the party in the October slogans to the Armed Forces are founded on the justice and trust which have always been inherent in our society's attitude to the Army and Navy. After all, restructuring really needs the reliable security of our state. The country needs it, too!

Yes, the banners of restructuring also carry the word "Motherland," which, for incomprehensible reasons—or, more precisely, for comprehensible reasons—some are trying to ignore. The October Revolution. The motherland. Socialism. Restructuring.... How can one fail to hear this affirmatory music in the rustle of October banners today?!

Official Afghanistan Body Count Questioned

90UI0107A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 44, 4-10 Nov 89 p 7

[Article by E. Gams, USSR People's Deputy, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Ecology and the Rational Use of Natural Resources: "To Find Out the Truth"]

[Text] As is known, figures were published in May of last year on manpower losses in Afghanistan. It was announced that we had lost 13,310 persons killed, 35,478 wounded, and 311 missing in action. No kind of supplemental data was reported that would make it possible to clarify how these losses came about specifically, and in this connection doubts can arise as to the completeness of the data. For example, I run into these kinds of questions in my mail: Isn't the history of the statistics of our losses in the last war being repeated? At that time, someone (most likely Stalin himself), guided by considerations known to himself alone, placed the losses of the Soviet Union at the figure of 20 million. There were no calculations to corroborate the accuracy of this figure, and to this day nothing has been published, which leads one to think that they simply do not exist. But in the West other figures on USSR losses are cited—30, 40 million. And, in this regard, Western researchers are trying to substantiate their own data.

Something like this in connection with the lack of glasnost is also occurring with figures on our losses in Afghanistan.

As far back as 2-3 years ago, Western sources were reporting 30-40,000 killed on the Soviet side. An exaggeration? It is possible. But they cite the following.

IZVESTIYA of 28 March of this year states that 764 residents of Belorussia died in Afghanistan. Let us take the losses sustained by this republic in the Afghan war as a kind of average figure that is typical for all regions of our country. The population of Belorussia, as is known, is about 1/28th of the population of the USSR. Consequently, the approximate total figure of Soviet servicemen who perished in Afghanistan will be somewhat more than 20,000 persons.

Similar doubts are also aroused by familiarity with the methodology that is applied in the calculation of combat losses. In conformity with this methodology, for example, if a soldier does not die on the battlefield, but, let us say, after a week or two on a hospital cot, then this serves as a basis for not including him in the list of combat losses.

It should also certainly not be forgotten that not only representatives of the Ministry of Defense died in Afghanistan from our side, but also employees from a number of other departments.

Nonetheless, we must know the truth no matter how bitter it turns out to be. It needs to be known, if for no other reason than to remember all of those who died, and not just the 13,310 who are officially admitted.

Besides the official data, we have one more way of finding out the truth: Let everyone who lost someone near to them in Afghanistan send in a letter with an indication of the last name, first name and patronymic, date and place of call-up, and date of death of this person. The list of the dead acquired in this way will be compared with the official list. If the corresponding instances do not agree with the data from public lists, then there will be an opportunity to make refutations according to each specific person and according to each fate. The data received can be and should be used as the basis for the creation of an all-union book commemorating the victims of the Afghan war. It is our moral duty to create such a book. It is difficult today and almost impossible to return from nonexistence the names and fates of millions who were ruined by Stalin. Within 40 years, traces of the fallen Afghantsy [Afghan veterans] will be erased in the very same way. If, of course, nothing is undertaken this very day. This is why a Commemoration Book is needed.

This does not have to be absolutely a book in the literal sense of the word. A gigantic black marble wall, on which the names of all 57,000 Americans who died in Vietnam shine in gold letters, was erected in the U.S. national military cemetery in Arlington. The nation has paid tribute to each by name. I think that if a similar memorial were to appear here that no one would bring himself to say it was plagiarism.

And one more judgment on this subject. Is it not time for us in the Soviet Union to have a national military cemetery like the American one in Arlington? A soldier who dies in the performance of his military duty deserves the special respect of the nation. And his last dwelling place should be worthy of the victim brought to it. The treatment of fallen soldiers is one of the most important indicators of the moral health of a people. They understand this well abroad.

It must be confessed that in our country by far not every one who dies in Afghanistan is buried as is befitting. So much has been written about the ordeals of unfortunate parents, about how difficult it is to erect a worthy monument to a son and to maintain it later. And at times the modest gravestones of fallen soldiers are lost among pompous monuments.

Is it not time for our state to decisively review its own attitude toward this problem and to take on the last concern for those who paid with their lives in the performance of their military duty?

DEAR READERS, if you possess information aboutour losses in Afghanistan, send it in letter form to this address: 103159, City of Moscow, Marx Prospect, 7, to E. Gams.

Defense Ministry Cites Improving Legal Training

PM0711130589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Nov 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "High Quality for Legal Training"]

[Text] A session of the USSR Ministry of Defense Collegium has been held to examine the tasks of legal training in the Armed Forces and the further development of the legal education of Army and Navy personnel.

These tasks are resolved in the Army and Navy in the context of the legal reform begun in the country on the initiative of the CPSU and implemented under its leadership. Their specific content is determined by the need to improve military legislation and bring it into line with the needs of the current stage of development of Soviet society and the Armed Forces. The Law on the Defense of the USSR, which is now being drafted, will be the basic act in the system of military legislation. The General Military Regulations whose draft is being discussed today in the country and in the Armed Forces will have an important place in this system. They will take effect after being ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The system will also include laws on universal military service obligation and military service, on the status of servicemen, on martial law, on civil defense, and on criminal liability for military crimes, and other legislative acts.

Important aspects of improving the system of military legislation include bringing it into line with current norms of international law in this sphere, and also reviewing all the normative acts on defense questions in light of the new legislation.

The improvement of military cadres' legal skill is an urgent problem. The significant increase in the volume of legal disciplines in higher military educational institutions, schools for warrant officers and ensigns, and training centers is aimed at solving this problem. As from the new training year the legal training of servicemen in units and on ships will be carried out in accordance with renewed programs, and every officer, including regimental commanders as well as warrant officers, ensigns, and servicemen doing extended service, will be obliged to pass the necessary test once every 2 years or on appointment to a new post.

The duty of military councils, commanders, commanding officers, and political organs to ensure the high quality of legal training in the Army and Navy was particularly stressed at the collegium session. Legal training in formations, in units, on ships, and in Armed Forces institutions and military schools must be carried out systematically, at a high ideological and scientific standard, be closely linked with practice, and have an active influence on the state of discipline and law and order in military collectives. The military press has an important role to play in ensuring the efficiency of basic legal training.

A great deal of attention was paid at the session to organizing the work of the corps of military and naval lawyers who help commanders (chiefs) in their legal work. This is the first time such a corps has been formed in the history of our Armed Forces. Unlike military prosecutors and judges, the commanders' assistants for legal work are called upon to make sure that legality is observed actually in the process of officials' performance of their duties and during the adoption of management decisions.

The collegium outlined concrete measures to carry out the cardinal restructuring of legal work in the Army and Navy and to increase servicemen's legal awareness. Basic legal training is an important direction in the transformation of military life and attaining a qualitatively new state of the Armed Forces.